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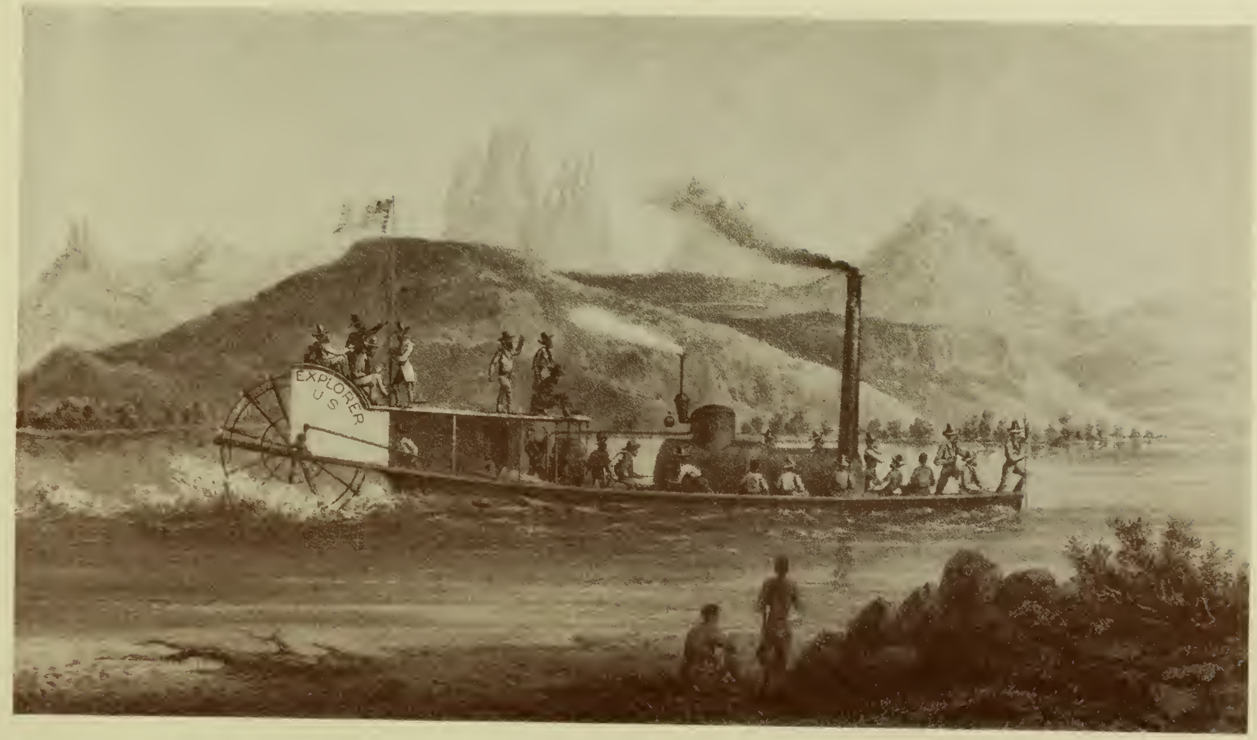


THE EXPLORER ON THE COLORADO RIVER, 1858
From Joseph C. Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West*
(Washington, 1861)
Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers

Steam Navigation on the Colorado River

By Francis Hale Leavitt

Experimentation and Development, 1850-1864

ON DECEMBER 31, 1852, the San Francisco *Alta California* carried the novel announcement that a steamboat had ascended the Colorado River and was then lying at anchor at Fort Yuma, Arizona, loaded with supplies for the military post.[1] This heroic precursor of river transportation was the small steam tug *Uncle Sam.* Ten days earlier the *Alta California* had reported that she was unable to get up to the fort, but after a persistent struggle of almost two weeks she succeeded in reaching her destination. Her arrival presaged a new period in the history of the Colorado River—an era of steam navigation which, before it came to a close early in the twentieth century, played an important role in the development of Arizona.

The voyage of the *Uncle Sam* was in no sense the first voyage up the Colorado River. Indeed, her arrival might be considered the termination of more than three centuries of intermittent activity on the river, during which the Spanish conquistador, the padre, and the American trapper all played important parts. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of these early years of discovery and exploration. This paper is concerned primarily with the period of steam navigation which was ushered in by the discovery of gold in California. After 1848 thousands of emigrants crowded every conceivable trail to the gold fields. On the southern route alone, by way of the Gila, it is estimated that in 1851 between twenty and sixty thousand immigrants entered California at the Gila-Colorado junction.

Clearly one of the first needs at Yuma, once this westward rush of emigrants began, was a ferry to carry across the Colorado River the gold seekers and settlers bound for San Diego. The first person to realize this need was Dr. A. L. Lincoln, who in 1849 had come from Mexico via the river to California. Returning to the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers about the first of January 1850, with the aid of several emigrants from Sonora he soon began the operation of the first commercial ferry on the Colorado.[2] Trouble with the Indians ensued when a member of the party, John J. Glanton, confiscated a small boat which had been given to the Indians by a General Anderson from Tennessee, and mistreated their chief. Later, in revenge, the Indians massacred eleven of the men connected with the ferry, including Glanton and Doctor Lincoln. They then located and seized, in addition to the personal belongings of the ferrymen and their boats, an estimated fifty thousand dollars in silver and between twenty and thirty thousand in gold, which had been collected between March 1, when the ferry began to operate, and April 23, 1850, the date of the massacre. The three survivors (William Carr, Joseph A. Anderson, and Marcus L. Webster) escaped down the river in a boat. Their sworn depositions were recorded before Abel Stearns, alcalde of Los Angeles, on May 9, 1850.[3]

The amount of money collected in less than two months by the operators of the ferry was ample proof of a lucrative business, and shortly thereafter a new company of twelve members was organized in San Francisco to revive the ferry business at Yuma. This party, with several additional employees, chartered a boat from San Francisco to San Diego in June 1850 and purchased ox teams for the overland journey to the river. According to Louis John Frederick Jaeger, one of the members of this company, they took no iron or lumber with them, but had only food, equipment, and a supply of hand tools to be used in preparing cottonwood timbers for the boat.[4] They arrived at the river on July 10 and began work immediately. On August 10 the first ferry, a small scow 12 feet wide, 35 feet long, and 2 feet deep, was put into service. Later a second and larger scow 12 feet wide and 60 feet long was constructed. Since no nails were available, wooden pegs or pins were used to hold the boats together. The ferry rates usually charged were $10 for a team and wagon and 50c for single animals, except sheep, which were generally carried across at the rate of 12½c. Business was good. Profits amounted to $884.50 in one record day when, in twenty-five trips within seven hours, 7,076 sheep were ferried across the river.[5] Toll was collected generally in kind rather than in cash. For example, in November 1856 the ferrymen received three hundred sheep as payment for taking across eight hundred head. Before the end of 1850 Jaeger and William Ankrim bought out the interests of the remaining members of the company. In addition to operating the ferry business Jaeger held contracts for supplying the army post with meat and sold supplies to the immigrants. He carried on a profitable business until 1877, when the railroad reached Yuma.

The second pressing need on the Colorado, once a ferry was established, was the protection of immigrants from Indian attacks. Realizing this need, the United States Government detailed Major Samuel P. Heintzelman and a detachment of troops to the Gila junction, where they arrived in November 1850 and established Camp Independence. The troops were withdrawn the following year, but returned in February 1852. The post was then moved to the site of the missions San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer and Concepcion, where Padre Francisco Garcès and others had been massacred in 1781, and the ruins of which could still be seen. The new location was given the name Fort Yuma.[6]

From the beginning, the problem of supplying this military post proved more difficult than that of controlling the Indians. Food, equipment, and military supplies had to be transported across the desert more than two hundred miles, in summer temperatures well above 100°. This was a new task for the United States Army. Even before Major Heintzelman's detachment was sent to Yuma, the War Department had considered establishing a water route to and up the Colorado River. At the same time that Major Heintzelman and his detachment left overland for Fort Yuma, Lieutenant George Horatio Derby was ordered to proceed by boat to the mouth of the Colorado in order to map all points important for its navigation. The object of the expedition was to "open a route of transportation by water to the mouth of the Gila, for the supply of the post to be established there."[7]

Derby was assigned to the 120-ton schooner *Invincible*, Capt. Alfred H. Wilcox, with a crew of thirteen. He left San Francisco on November 1 and sighted the mouth of the river on December 23, 1850. Proceeding upstream, he took soundings and charted the river for a distance of thirty miles before he was forced to anchor. An Indian was sent overland to Camp Independence with a note announcing the arrival of the party, whereupon Major Heintzelman left the fort with five men, reaching the *Invincible* on January 14. The army supplies were unloaded at Howard's Point on the Sonora bank and hauled overland by wagon to Camp Independence. After completing his survey of the river, Lieutenant Derby made the following report to the War Department:

> ... I have no hesitation in saying that it [the Colorado] may be navigated at any season of the year by a steamboat of eighteen or twenty feet beam, drawing two and a half to three feet water. A small stern-wheel boat, with a powerful engine and thick bottom, I would respectfully suggest to be a proper ... vessel for this navigation.... At the present season (January, February and March) supplies from vessels arriving from the gulf may be landed near Arnold's point, upon the eastern bank, and a road being made from the post ... they might be transported by wagons across in three days. It would be preferable, however, to establish a depot ... from which a small steamboat could carry more to the post in twenty-four hours than a hundred wagons could transport in a week. Either of these methods would be far preferable to the present slow, laborious and uncertain mode of supplying by wagons and pack mules ... from San Diego.[8]

The effect of the Derby report was far-reaching, first, because it expressed a conviction that the river was navigable, and secondly, because it led directly to the first step in the introduction of steam navigation on the Colorado River, the testing period. It was upon the outcome of these tests during the next decade that the success or failure of the experiment was to be determined. Meanwhile the stock of supplies at the post was reaching the point of depletion. Government action was characteristically slow, and on June 5, 1851, with no relief in sight, it was necessary to abandon the Yuma post. Major Heintzelman returned to San Diego with the majority of his forces, leaving only a guard of one officer and ten men at the fort to afford protection to the ferry company.[9] After the withdrawal of the troops, Indian hostilities increased, and on December 6 the remaining guard under Lieutenant Thomas William Sweeny was forced to retreat to San Diego.[10] It is probable that the ferrymen also left at this time, as they were few in number and the Yumas were in a threatening mood.[11]

The abandonment of Fort Yuma was to be temporary, pending the solution of the supply problem. In the meantime a number of the ferrymen, realizing the significance of the Derby report and having sold their ferry interests to Jaeger in 1850, determined to organize a navigation company. Chief among these was George Alonzo Johnson.[12] In 1851 he secured a contract to provision the military post. The Army cooperated in the venture, and before the end of October the U. S. transport *Sierra Nevada*, under command of Captain A. H. Wilcox, left San Francisco for San Diego. Here two months were spent fitting out the expedition, which finally put to sea for the Colorado on January 24, 1852. The aim was to ascend the river, if possible, to Fort Yuma.[13] Should the *Sierra Nevada* find it impossible to reach that point, Captain Johnson, who was on board, planned to transport the cargo the remaining distance on two flatboats which were to be made on the Colorado from frames which had been constructed in San Francisco. Commenting on this new enterprise, the *Herald* states, "More than ordinary interest is felt by our inhabitants in this, the pioneer vessel in a new avenue of trade. . . ."[14] Meantime a detachment under Major Heintzelman was dispatched overland to the fort from San Diego.[15] Reoccupation was effected on February 28, 1852, and before the end of that year the military command numbered 11 officers and 188 men.

Two months passed, but still no word was received concerning the *Sierra Nevada*. The fort was destitute of provisions, and word soon reached San Diego that Major Heintzelman would "soon be obliged to resort to mule steaks, unless he gets supplies . . . shortly."[16] As it turned out, the *Sierra Nevada* reached the mouth of the river on February 17, although word of her arrival was not received in San Diego until April 2.[17] Proceeding upstream, Wilcox anchored his boat some seventy miles from the fort. Nine days were spent in constructing the two flatboats, each of which was 50 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 3 feet deep. They were immediately loaded, and an attempt was made to pole them up to the fort. The difficulties experienced were anything but heartening. On the first trip one boat was "swamped" and the boat and entire cargo were lost. The contractors persevered in their efforts, but the *Alta California* reported that "Major Heintzelman's command at Camp Yuma uses up the stores about as fast as the contractors can deliver them."[18]

It soon became evident that flatboats could not meet the requirements of the post.[19] Consequently it is not surprising that a new contract was awarded to Captain James Turnbull for the period from July to the end of the year. It called for a payment of $120 a ton for the first cargo delivered at Fort

Yuma and $50 a ton for all that might be needed for the remainder of the year.[20]

Captain Turnbull decided to meet the problem of supplying Fort Yuma by steam navigation. In an effort to carry out the terms of his contract with dispatch, he had parts for a river steamer shipped to the mouth of the river on the U. S. transport *Capacity*, which the *Alta California* lists as sailing from San Francisco on August 2, under command of Captain Driscoll.[21] She probably arrived at the mouth of the river near the end of that month, for on October 18, 1852, Sweeny writes: "The supply steamer has been two months on the river without sending us anything. I expect that they found more difficulty than they anticipated with the steam tug . . . I think they'll be lucky if they ever get up here."[22] By November the first steamer to operate on the Colorado was completed and honored with the name *Uncle Sam.* She was not an imposing craft, even when judged by the standards of her day, and was more correctly called a steam tug than a river steamer. She is described as having no deck and measuring 65 feet in length, 12 to 15 feet in width of beam, and 3 feet in depth. She was a "side-wheeler," equipped with a twenty to twenty-five horsepower steam locomotive type engine, and had a capacity of forty tons.

December 3, 1852, was a momentous day at Fort Yuma, occasioned by the arrival of the *Uncle Sam.* Sweeny, an eyewitness to the event, wrote: "The steamer *Uncle Sam*, so long expected from below, arrived at the post on the 3rd with about twenty tons of commissary stores etc. She was fifteen days coming up the river from where the schooner *Capacity* is lying, 120 miles from the post."[23] To celebrate the occasion Captain Turnbull invited the officers from the fort and several others to join him in a short excursion up the Gila and Colorado rivers on the eighth. Sweeny, a member of the party, reports: "The trip was rather pleasant than otherwise, more on account of its novelty than anything else, . . . for we got pretty well sprinkled [from the two side paddle-wheels] during the voyage."[24]

The immediate problem, however, was to discharge the *Capacity* and transport the supplies to Fort Yuma. A second trip to the post was completed on the twenty-fifth, twelve days having been consumed in the ascent, and a third one on January 20, 1853, with about forty tons of commissary stores.[25] In March it was reported that she was making faster trips, only twelve days being consumed in the round trip to the mouth of the river and back. However, there still remained three loads aboard the *Capacity* to be delivered, and that boat already had been at anchor on the river for some seven months. The *Uncle Sam*, it seems, never had been able to supply the entire needs of the post, for wagon trains were constantly engaged in freighting goods overland from San Diego.[26] There can be little doubt that she was deficient in power and her success became more and more a matter of question.

To overcome the problem of her lack of power, Captain Turnbull returned to San Francisco, where he secured a new store of supplies for the post and a more powerful engine for the *Uncle Sam.* He left San Francisco on the schooner *General Patterson* and arrived at the mouth of the river in May 1853.[27] To his disappointment he reached the fort only to learn that the *Uncle Sam* had sunk. The *Herald* reported that she had been moored at Ankrim's Ferry to be cleaned out preparatory to putting in the new engine, and that a hole had been bored through the bottom to let the water in. Through neglect, "the boat filled and sank and was carried off down the river by the strong current."[28] Twice thwarted in his enterprise, Turnbull returned to San Francisco on May 28, this time to acquire a boat in which to install the new machinery left on the river.[29] In San Francisco he refuted the story of the sinking, saying that no hole had been bored in the boat but that she had been snagged by drifting timber and had sunk. From this point Captain Turnbull is heard of no more in connection with the navigation of the Colorado.[30] It is probable that the risk and expense incurred were more than he was prepared to meet, and that consequently he was forced to abandon the project. Again the former method of transportation by mule team from San Diego had to be resumed to supply the fort with provisions. Although the first attempt at steam navigation had failed, it proved more conclusively to those on the river that it could become an established institution. Moreover, there were others willing to take the risk.[31]

The failure of Captain Turnbull provided an opportunity for Johnson to resume his attempts at navigation on the Colorado. Because of his own experience and the information gained through the efforts of Captain Turnbull, he felt sufficiently confident to organize the George A. Johnson Company in 1853.[32] Other members of the firm were Benjamin M. Hartshorne and Captain A. H. Wilcox. On October 7 of that year, Johnson sailed from San Francisco on the brig *General Viel,* carrying parts for a new steamer to be erected on the Colorado. By January 1854, the new boat, the *General Jesup,* was completed. Like the *Uncle Sam* she was a side-wheeler equipped with a seventy horsepower engine, was 104 feet long, 17 feet in beam or 27 feet over her paddle boxes, and had a capacity of fifty tons. To her belongs the honor of being the first vessel to navigate successfully the Colorado River. Her trial runs were satisfactory, and by April Captain Johnson was back in San Francisco, where he reported that she had successfully carried the entire cargo of supplies up to the fort and was then tied up at Yuma awaiting the arrival of other ships.[33]

The early years of navigation on the river were difficult ones. Fate was not kind to boats on the Colorado. On September 20, 1854, the boiler of the *General Jesup* exploded while she was tied up at Ogden's Landing on the Sonora bank below Yuma, killing one man and scalding others. To add to this disaster, the schooner *General Patterson,* in attempting to enter the mouth of the river, ran up the wrong channel, struck a sand bar, and was left hanging in a precarious position. Troops were rushed to the scene of the accident to discharge the cargo, as it was feared that she might break up. Meanwhile Captain Johnson returned to San Francisco for additional supplies and the necessary parts to repair the damaged *General Jesup*. At the fort the explosion proved a serious drawback, and for a second time wagon supply trains were dispatched from San Diego to provision the garrison. By December the damage was repaired, and the steamer was again running regularly to the mouth of the river from Yuma.[34]

With the successful operation of the *General Jesup*, steam navigation on the Colorado became an established fact. However, the real test to determine whether trade could be carried on profitably over a period of time still had to be made. The Johnson Company was determined to make a success of the venture and began the construction of a third river steamer, the *Colorado*. Her hull was laid in San Francisco, but she was taken to the mouth of the river to be completed and to have her machinery installed.[35] She was longer than either of the first two steamers, being 120 feet, and was much more powerful. The most important revolution in her design, however, was the stern-wheel, which had been recommended four years earlier by Lieutenant Derby. Tests soon proved that to operate efficiently in narrow channels, through shallow water or for cutting through sand bars, the stern-wheel was indispensable. The *Colorado* began operating in December 1855, as evidenced by the following comment from Yuma on the fourteenth of that month: "The express rider informs us that the new steamer *Colorado* . . . had been completed and had arrived at the Fort. She is said to be a fine boat, and well adapted for the navigation of that river."[36]

Within five years after steamboats had been successfully introduced on the Colorado, substantial progress had been made in developing steam navigation both to the mouth of the river and upstream. The opening of the ocean route from San Francisco to the river's mouth was greatly furthered by United States naval vessels ordered to the Colorado with supplies for the Yuma garrison.

A check of these vessels engaged in the ocean trade includes the U. S. schooners *Invincible*, *Capacity*, *Monterey*, *General Patterson*, and *Humboldt*, the U. S. transport ship *Sierra Nevada*, and the brig *General Viel*, all operating before the end of 1855. In that year privately owned vessels, at least three in number, began commercial activity.[37] The naval vessels, however, did not cease operation immediately. The schooner *Patterson* ran until 1857; the *Monterey* until 1858; the *Floyd* made trips in 1859 and 1860; and the *General Jesup* carried on from 1862 to 1865.[38] On the river itself two steamers, *General Jesup* and *Colorado*, made regular runs from Fort Yuma to the mouth,[39] where they customarily awaited the arrival of the ocean-going vessels. When the latter arrived, they cast anchor in mid-channel and transferred their cargo directly to the river steamers.[40] These in turn transported both freight and passengers upstream to the post. This operation required from several days to as many weeks, depending on the stage of the river and the good fortune of the pilot in getting through. Meanwhile the ocean-going vessels were required to ride at anchor until the entire cargo was discharged.[41]

Up to 1856, trade was confined entirely to Fort Yuma, but when miners began to open claims along the river Johnson became interested in the possibility of navigating the river above this point. In 1856, after obtaining the support of the California legislature, he went to Washington, where he succeeded in getting an appropriation of seventy-five thousand dollars to determine the navigability of the Colorado above Yuma. The money was not spent, and when a change of administration occurred, Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives was appointed to carry on this investigation. Ives wrote to Johnson asking for particulars about the river and inquiring about the probable cost of transporting a party to the head of navigation. Johnson replied that he believed $3,500 would cover the cost and offered the use of one of his boats. Ives, however, determined to act independently.[42] On November 1, 1857, he left San Francisco for the mouth of the Colorado River on the 120-ton *Monterey*. His party included technicians for the study of the surrounding country and was prepared to make extensive observations and maps of the area.

On board the *Monterey* were parts for the fourth boat to operate on the river, the small iron-hull steamer *Explorer*. She was built in Philadelphia and was so constructed that after her trial runs on the Delaware River she could be dismantled and shipped to San Francisco by way of Panama. Assembly took place at the mouth of the river during December, and just a month from the date of her arrival she was launched by moonlight at high tide on the thirtieth. In spite of the fact that she had been an expensive and unnecessary investment and that she was less than half the size of Johnson's *Colorado*, Ives proudly surveyed her and wrote: "This morning the 'Explorer' underwent a critical inspection. She is fifty-four feet long from the extremity of the bow to the outer rim of the stern wheel. Amidships, the hull is left open, like a skiff, the boiler occupying a third of the vacant space. At the bow is a little deck, upon which stands the armament—a four-pound howitzer."[43]

Captain D. C. Robinson was secured from the Johnson Company to pilot the *Explorer*, since he had had considerable experience on the river. The expedition got under way on December 31, 1857. After proceeding some distance, Ives left the boat and proceeded overland to the fort, where other members of his expedition were awaiting him. Here he experienced a great disappointment, one which he scarcely mentions in his voluminous report.

Johnson, who had been instrumental in getting the government appropriation, naturally felt disgruntled when he was entirely disregarded by Ives. Consequently, he explained, "I determined to take the steamer I first built and go up the river. So, while he was putting his craft together, I fitted up the steamer *General Jesup*, and applied to the commanding officer of Fort Yuma for an escort."[44] Captain William A. Winder granted his request and detailed a certain Lieutenant White to take command of fifteen men and a mountain howitzer to accompany the expedition. On December 20, 1857, eleven days before Ives started from the mouth of the river, Johnson and his party left Yuma for the stated purpose of determining whether a route could be opened by way of the Colorado to Utah, by which troops could be sent to the aid of General Albert Sidney Johnston in putting down the Utah rebellion. The ulterior motive of the expedition was to win for Johnson the credit expected by the Ives party.

Contrary to the popular belief that he reached Las Vegas Wash and probably the Virgin River, Johnson states that he got only as far as El Dorado, seventy-four miles above Fort Mohave.[45] He determined this to be the head of navigation and returned.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Ives had taken aboard the remainder of his personnel at Fort Yuma and started on. To his embarrassment the *Explorer* floundered on a sand bar a short distance above and in plain sight of the fort. Here he was forced to remain for an entire afternoon and night, much to the amusement of the garrison. It must have been with heightened feeling of chagrin that, as his crew struggled upstream somewhat later in the small *Explorer*, he met Johnson steaming along homeward with a much larger boat, already having explored most of the territory that he, at great expense, had been sent to examine.[46] The expedition continued up the river until March 8, when the *Explorer* ran onto a sunken rock in the vicinity of Black Canyon, ripping her bow apart. She was repaired near the scene of the accident three days later. Ives had now reached a point on the river higher than that attained by Johnson, but because of the accident he decided to go no farther with the boat. Launching a skiff, a small party proceeded on to what later proved to be Las Vegas Wash. Mistaking it for the long looked for Virgin River, the party turned back confident that they had fully accomplished what they had set out to do.

As a result of these two expeditions, not only was much learned about the character of the river and the surrounding region above Yuma, but both Johnson and Ives expressed the belief that the Colorado was navigable for river steamers as far as the Rio Virgin, although neither of them had reached that point.[47]

After returning to Yuma the *Explorer* was sold at auction to the George A. Johnson Company. She proved very unmanageable and consequently saw little active service on the river.[48] She is said to have got out of control at the mouth of the Gila and was finally hauled in at Pilot Knob. During high water she broke away from her moorings and drifted into a slough some sixty-five miles below Yuma. Finally her machinery was removed, but no attempt was made to salvage the hull. She was probably lost sometime before 1865. In 1873 the *Sentinel* reported that due to the changing course of the river she was then one hundred and fifty yards from the stream but could not be seen, owing to the height of the weeds surrounding her.[49] In 1929, a surveying party discovered and identified her patched hull, then more than a mile away from the river.[50]

Thus, by 1859, tests carried on by the United States transport schooners had opened the ocean route to the mouth of the river, the experiments of Turnbull and Johnson had established the beginnings of steam navigation on the Colorado, and the explorations of Johnson and Ives had demonstrated the possibility of navigating the stream several hundred miles above Yuma. But the testing period was not over. Up to this time ocean-going vessels to the mouth of the river had been the smaller, wind-driven type, not exceeding two hundred tons capacity. The possibility of using fifteen-hundred to two-thousand-ton steamers was next advanced. The chief question was whether these larger craft could enter the mouth of the river. The answer to the problem was sought in the much publicized voyage of the ocean steamer *Uncle Sam*, a vessel of 1,438 tons, owned by Charles K. Garrison of San Francisco. She was chartered by the army to carry troops to establish a new post at Fort Mohave and left San Francisco on February 10, 1859, with five companies of troops numbering 350 men, 200 mules which were later discharged at San Diego, and 300 tons of freight. She arrived at the river on February 27 and anchored some twenty miles below the mouth.[51] The river must have presented a picture teeming with activity during her stay, for in addition to the two river steamers, the *General Jesup* and the *Colorado*, assisting in the discharge of her cargo, there were the schooners *Monterey*, *Flying Dart*, *Raymond*, and the Mexican barque *Carmelita* all actively engaged in trade.[52]

The experiment proved successful, and later that same year the 295-ton steamer *Santa Cruz* made a similar trip to the Colorado. In 1866, the 1031-ton steamer *Oregon* made two trips. She left San Francisco for the Colorado on February 18 and returned on March 25 with 330 soldiers and 42 passengers. A second trip was made in May, when she returned with 307 soldiers and 23 passengers. After this time she was advertised to make regular sailings and the date for a third voyage was set, but for some unknown reason the plan did not materialize.[53] A third steamer, the *Continental*, left San Francisco in October 1869, transporting a command of three hundred troops to the mouth of the river.[54]

Meanwhile development on the river kept pace with the expanding military and mining activities. Owing to the need of supplying two military forts and also because of the discovery of rich gold and silver deposits along the Colorado in 1862, an added impetus was given the river trade, and as a result, the George A. Johnson Company was forced to increase its carrying capacity. In May 1859, construction was begun on a machine shop at Colorado City, opposite Yuma, and this same year the fifth steamer to operate on the river was launched. She was constructed at the Gridiron, thirty-five miles north of Robinson's Landing, and arrived at Yuma on her maiden voyage on September 1, 1859.[55] She was 140 feet long, had a capacity of 100 tons and was named the *Cocopah* in honor of the Indian tribes on the river delta.

By 1861 the *General Jesup* was scrapped, and the demands of increased mining activity made it imperative that she be replaced by a larger and more powerful steamer. Two years later the *Mohave*, the sixth steamer to appear on the Colorado, was launched at Yuma.[56] She was 133 feet long, 28 feet in width of beam and had a capacity of 192.61 tons. By 1864 the Colorado Steam Navigation Company had been on the river for ten years.[57] It was operating three vessels, the *Colorado*, the *Cocopah*, and the *Mohave*, each costing from twenty to forty thousand dollars, and trips were being made as far up the river as Fort Mohave, three hundred miles above Yuma.[58]

The last years of the period of experimentation and development were marked by an increasing demand on the part of the citizens of Arizona for more adequate transportation facilities. During both the flood season and low water, goods often piled up at the mouth of the river awaiting shipment to the interior while the populace fumed at the delay. Writing in December 1863, a correspondent commented:

> The steamer left here some eighteen days since to go to Fort Mohave, for seventeen of which she has lain high and dry on a sand bar, about thirty miles above La Paz. Provisions are very dear. . . . It is reported here that over one thousand tons of freight are now lying at Fort Yuma and at the mouth of the river, waiting for conveyance hither . . . the steamer cannot possibly bring more than thirty tons of freight per trip. Articles that were shipped on the *Ford* about the first of September have not arrived yet.[59]

A similar letter written in December of that year states that it took eight days to make a round trip to the mouth of the river from Yuma and about forty days to Fort Mohave. There were then six hundred tons of freight at the mouth of the river awaiting shipment.[60] It was this dissatisfaction which led to the founding of a rival company in 1864 and the opening of the second phase of steam navigation on the Colorado River, a period distinguished by keen commercial rivalry and by an attempt to extend the commerce of the river north to the Utah settlements.

Rivalry and Expansion, 1864-1870

Almost from the time of their arrival in Salt Lake Valley in July 1847, the Mormon people took measures to establish economic connections with the Pacific Coast. In November they sent Porter D. Rockwell, Jefferson Hunt, and some thirteen others to Los Angeles to obtain provisions, seeds, and livestock. This marked the beginning of the Utah-California trade.

The plan of Brigham Young for building a self-sustaining empire in the West called for an outlet to the sea on the Pacific Coast. A portion of the seacoast in the vicinity of San Diego was to serve as the desired outlet for the State of Deseret, organized in March 1849 and designed to include all of Utah and parts of present day Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. It was the plan of the church to connect that harbor with Salt Lake by a line of posts along the Old Spanish Trail. The idea, however, was abandoned when an act of Congress on April 9, 1850, organized the Territory of Utah and set California as the western boundary. Young's idea of economic independence, however, was not abandoned. He needed cotton for his followers, and consequently, in 1850, the church purchased the San Bernardino ranch. In June of the next year two hundred settlers arrived, and way stations were established from San Bernardino to Utah along the route approximating the present U. S. Highway 91. The plan was further advanced in June 1855, when Las Vegas Mission, at what is now Las Vegas, Nevada, was founded. Here a fort was constructed, crops were planted, a lead mine was developed, and missionary work was carried on among the Indians. However, when the United States Army came to Utah in 1857, both of these posts were abandoned and the settlers were recalled.

A third attempt to unite the Utah Territory with the sea was made in 1864. This involved transportation on the Colorado River. The plan was to establish a warehouse at the head of navigation with the hope of bringing goods from the coast to that point, whence they could be carried overland to Salt Lake City. Such a plan had long been developing in the minds of church leaders. In 1851 the church presidency wrote to Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich, ecclesiastical heads of the San Bernardino Mission:

> . . . we learn that there are some surveys making from the mouth of the Colorado to the mouth of the Gila, and upwards, and some trading posts, or settlers in that vicinity, but we have not particulars enough to form a just estimate of the practicability of navigating the Colorado, above the Gila, or of making settlements anywhere in that vicinity. If light steamers can pass up the Colorado opposite our southern settlements, or the south east portion of Utah territory, we want to know it, together with all other information which can be obtained respecting facilities for passing the Saints from any part of the world, up said river; and wish you to be on the alert for any such information, and give us all the news you can get every mail.[61]

Again in 1853 the *Deseret News* observed that boats were running on the river and that a plan was under way to start operations above Yuma in an attempt to facilitate Utah trade.[62] A similar plan was advanced at Colorado City the following year.[63]

With the colonists who were called to settle Las Vegas Mission in June 1855 came an exploring party of five headed by Rufus Allen. Allen was instructed to explore down the river, beginning at the point nearest Las Vegas, and to determine its navigability. Selecting two additional members from the mission, he proceeded to the Colorado and explored it from June 18 to 22. He reported that Las Vegas was twenty-eight miles from the nearest point on the river, and that the stream was, with one exception, navigable.[64] A second expedition was sent out by the church to examine the river in 1858. Under the leadership of Amasa M. Lyman and Ira Hatch, an Indian interpreter, the party of nineteen left Southern Utah and, going by way of Las Vegas, arrived at the river on April 13. They explored downstream to the military crossing at Mohave, examined the river, and returned to Las Vegas.[65] A third exploring party was sent out by way of the Grand Wash, Arizona, in 1867. They brought a sixteen-foot skiff from St. George, Utah, and, with Jacob Hamblin as guide, navigated the Colorado from the Wash through Boulder Canyon to Callville, a distance of sixty miles.[66]

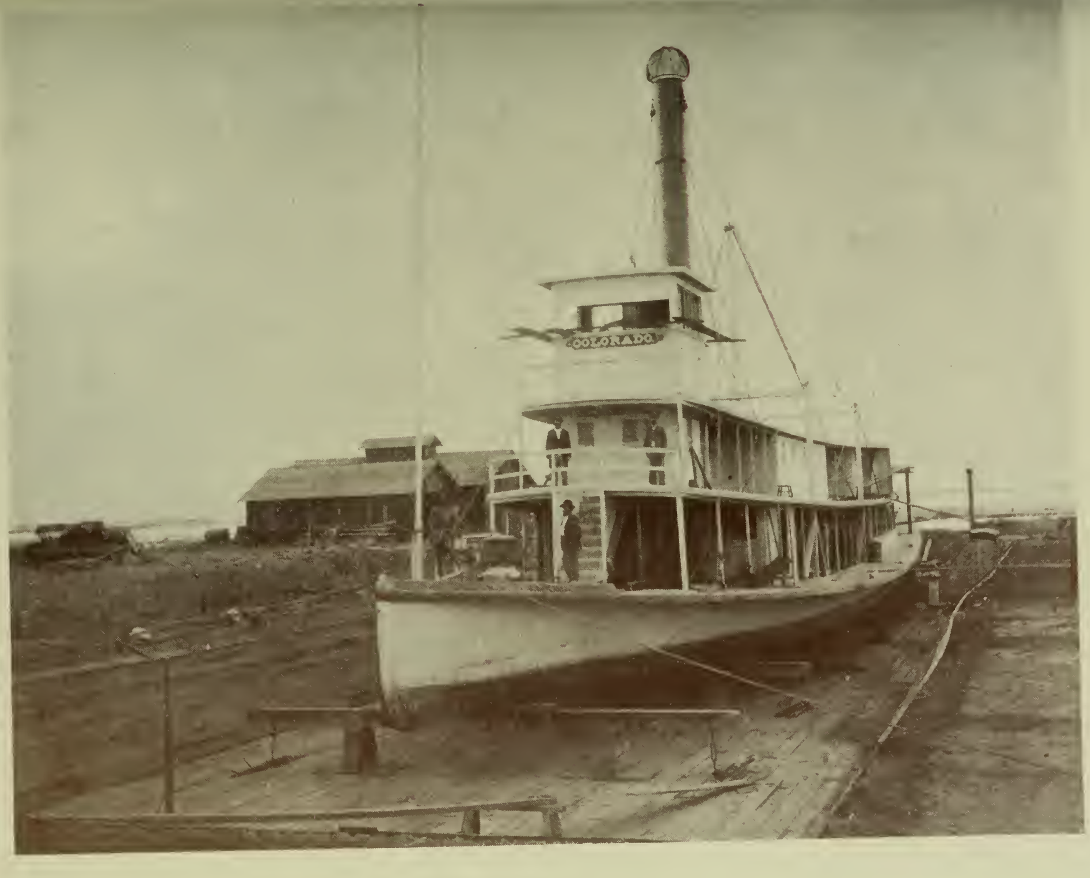
Meanwhile Salt Lake authorities were negotiating with San Francisco merchants for the transporting of goods to Utah by way of the Colorado River. A company was organized early in 1861. It was represented in San Francisco by R. E. Raimond and in Salt Lake by Jefferson Hunt and Ebenezer Hanks.[67] The company's advertisement for freight, first appearing on July 7, occasioned considerable interest among San Francisco merchants and continued to run in the *Alta California* until August 16. No shipments were made, however, and enthusiasm for the project died. A year later a similar project was revived at La Paz, and a correspondent wrote that "parties . . . have offered to deliver Salt Lake freight at the mouth of the Rio Virgin . . . at the rate of seven cents a pound. . . ."[68]

On December 12, 1853, John and Enoch Reese of Salt Lake dispatched twenty-four wagons and eighty head of stock to San Bernardino, opening trade with California on a large scale.[69] During the next sixteen years, business between Salt Lake and Los Angeles continued in an amazing volume. In January 1864, the *Alta California* reported: "It is a common occurrence to see trains of from 5 to 20 wagons . . . from Salt Lake on their way to Los Angeles after goods";[70] and a month later an observer wrote that he "counted some sixty-seven eight- and ten-mule teams, from Great Salt Lake City bound for San Pedro for merchandise and machinery. Fourteen of these wagons were loaded with cotton from the Santa Clara settlements, Utah."[71] It was estimated that $150,000 in merchandise left Los Angeles for Salt Lake between November 1863 and May 8, 1864.[72]

Up to 1864, the George A. Johnson Company held a complete monopoly of the river trade. In that year a small group headed by Samuel Adams, of Arizona, more familiarly known as "Steamboat" Adams, began action to induce a second company to begin operations there. Adams devoted the next six years almost exclusively to the development of the river trade. His activities led him to California, Utah, and finally to Washington, D. C. In a letter to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, under whose orders he was supposedly acting, he claimed to have descended the Colorado some three hundred miles on a raft in the spring of 1864, and reported that the river was navigable. He made his way to San Francisco, where, acting as a self-appointed chamber of commerce for Arizona, he succeeded in arousing interest in trade with Utah. Just when his voyage was made, or whether it was made at all, is a matter questioned by many. It is known, however, that, on January 8, 1864, at a meeting of San Francisco merchants interested in "increasing the facilities for steam navigation on the Colorado," a committee of six, with Caleb S. Hobbs as chairman, was appointed to investigate the subject of transportation on the Colorado.[73] A week later the committee reported that it had found evidence of monopolistic practices on the part of the Johnson Company, that provisions and tools had accumulated at the mouth of the river until there were then twelve hundred tons lying exposed to the weather, some of which had been there four months, and that ten to fifty tons of ore were awaiting shipment at each of the river landings. On January 25 the *Alta California* carried the committee report that the barque *Hidalgo*, then at the mouth of the river, would be detained some ninety days with three hundred tons of freight for want of river transportation inland.

As a result of these investigations the committee recommended an independent organization; consequently a company was formed. Thomas E. Trueworthy, then engaged in steam transportation on the Sacramento, was interviewed and agreed to begin operations on the Colorado within sixty to seventy-five days. Trueworthy acted immediately, and on February 17 his combination barge-schooner *Victoria* sailed for the Colorado, where she was to act as a store ship for freight until it could be sent to the interior.[74] The first river steamer belonging to the new company put out from San Francisco shortly after the *Victoria*. She was the 130-foot, 50-ton *Esmeralda*, which had been constructed in San Francisco in 1862 and was operating on the Sacramento.[75] By March she reached the Colorado. Trueworthy was ready for business, and on the eleventh of that month, the *Alta California* carried the first advertisement of vessels scheduled to sail for the "New Union Line" to the Colorado.

In August, the Philadelphia Mining Company, engaged in mining at El Dorado Canyon, placed a second rival steamer, the *Nina Tilden*, on the river. She was a larger boat than the *Esmeralda*, with a capacity of 107 tons.[76] Under the command of Captain Paddy Gorman, she left San Francisco on the sixth of August and began operation on the Colorado before the end of the month.[77] Thus the picture of steam navigation on the river was completely altered by August 1864. Whereas in March, four months earlier, there was only one company in complete control of the river trade, there were now three advertising "immediate dispatch" to the river.[78] Business was not sufficient to justify the maintenance of such an increase in trading facilities, and consequently vessels often waited weeks before a sufficient cargo



THE COLORADO ON DRY DOCK OF THE COLORADO NAVIGATION COMPANY AT PORT ISABEL

From Charles G. Johnson, *History of the Territory of Arizona and the Great Colorado of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1868)

Courtesy of Mr. Francis P. Farquhar

could be collected in San Francisco to warrant sailing. Occasionally sailing dates were postponed several times with the hope of eventually obtaining freight and passengers, only to be cancelled when neither was forthcoming. In June 1865, Captain Trueworthy and the Philadelphia Mining Company merged to form the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company. They raised a capital stock of $200,000, accumulated from the sale of four thousand shares at fifty dollars each, and owned the three boats: the *Esmeralda*, *Nina Tilden*, and the schooner *Victoria*.

By 1865 the *Colorado* had worn out, and, in order to meet the challenge of his rivals, Johnson launched the ninth steamer to operate on the river. Like her predecessor she was named the *Colorado*, and in order to distinguish between them the later one will be referred to as the *Colorado No. 2*. She was laid out in San Francisco and put together at the Yuma yard.[79] She had but one deck, a square stern, and a capacity of 178.59 tons.[80] The following year, at Sacramento, the Johnson Company was incorporated as the Colorado Steam Navigation Company with a capital stock of $500,000. Aided financially by his new company and materially by his fleet of three steamers, and having the advantage of twelve years of experience, Johnson returned to the Colorado determined to meet the challenge of his rivals.

Since five river steamers represented a carrying capacity more than adequate for local needs, boat owners and merchants in both San Francisco and Salt Lake City again took steps to open trade negotiations. In January 1864, an agent from Salt Lake appeared at El Dorado Canyon to investigate the possibility of obtaining supplies for Utah, but as none were there he was obliged to go to Los Angeles.[81] In October 1864, the Mormon Church and a number of Salt Lake merchants decided on a definite course of action. They appointed Anson Call as agent to locate a road from the Utah settlements by way of the Muddy River to the highest point of navigation on the Colorado, where he was to construct a warehouse preparatory to receiving freight from California. Call left St. George, Utah, on November 24, 1864, with a party of five, and, going by way of the Muddy, reached the Colorado on December 2. A suitable landing site was selected a few miles above Las Vegas Wash, on a black, rocky point well above high water mark.[82] The party explored the river south to Hardyville, 150 miles below, and, upon their return, staked out a warehouse and some forty lots for the proposed settlement which was to be named Callville. Call then returned to St. George, leaving two men to excavate for the foundations.

To serve as way stations for the river traffic, and as a source of supply for cotton and other semitropical products, the Church established St. Thomas and St. Joseph on the Muddy some distance north of Callville, in 1861.

Joining a company of settlers on their way to the Cotton Mission in Arizona, Call returned to the Colorado three weeks later, bringing a surveyor and several stone masons. The party constructed a kiln, burned lime from rock found in the vicinity, and with the aid of the Indians erected in twenty-seven days a stone warehouse seventy-five feet long and thirty feet wide, with walls twelve feet thick. Adjoining the warehouse was an office eighteen by thirty-four feet divided into two apartments.[83] Supplies were purchased from William H. Hardy, of Hardyville, and sent up the river on flatboats.[84] Hardy visited the warehouse in January and selected two lots, intimating that he would "commence business in the mercantile line" at once. Shortly before the end of February the warehouse was completed.

In the meantime Samuel Adams again asserted himself in behalf of the Utah trade, and in December 1864 he induced Captain Trueworthy to attempt a trip to the Callville landing, then in the course of construction. On January 5 an *Alta California* correspondent stated that the *Esmeralda* was nearing La Paz on her way to Callville, "with freight for the Mormon settlements at Santa Clara." Nothing more was heard of her until Adams and Trueworthy arrived in Salt Lake City in March 1865. In April the California papers carried a complete account of the event.

> The complete success of Captain Thomas E. Trueworthy in ascending the Colorado River to within four hundred miles of Great Salt Lake City, in the steamer *Esmeralda,* towing a barge and transporting one hundred tons of freight, may be considered an era in the trade of Utah and Arizona Territories. . . . Captain Trueworthy was induced by M. Samuel Adams to test the character of the river's channel, by running a steamer and towing a barge loaded up as far as possible. Arriving at Hardyville, they were assured that the river could be navigable only thirteen miles further. . . . The steamer ascended . . . to within twenty-five miles of Callville, and could have reached that latter place without difficulty, and only stopped short of it because the warehouse had not been completed and the parties who were to have built it had been induced to leave through misrepresentation by interested persons.[85]

According to Adams, they were met at Roaring Rapids by messengers from Callville, who informed them that the freighters from Utah who were expecting the supplies had received letters, from someone opposing the enterprise, stating that the steamer had broken down and the expedition had been abandoned. Trueworthy then returned to El Dorado Canyon, where he left his boat and cargo, and with Adams traveled overland to Salt Lake to inform the merchants of their arrival.[86] Adams then went to San Francisco, where he again took up his campaign. In a warm speech before a group of merchants there, he recited the numerous attempts of the Johnson Company to hinder their ascent of the river. Among these were charges that Johnson had induced the insurance companies of San Francisco to refuse to insure the *Esmeralda*, that attempts had been made to "gum" the boat's machinery, that someone had tried to fire the cabin, that timbers had been floated down the river in an effort to wreck her, and that finally the boat had been cut loose from her moorings.[87] Several similar accounts attempt to link Hardy with designs to prevent river traffic from passing above his establishment, which he desired to maintain as the center of trade on the upper Colorado. It is known that he was anxious to get a congressional appropriation of $150,000 for clearing the channel for navigation; he undoubtedly felt that his chances for doing so would be lessened if boats were already running successfully through that portion of the river supposed to be impassable.

Encouraged by the continued reports of the navigability of the Colorado to Callville and by the visit of Trueworthy and Adams, William Jennings of Salt Lake City made the second attempt to get a shipment up to the Mormon warehouse. The goods left San Francisco on the schooner *Isabel* on March 23, 1865, and reached the mouth of the river in April. There transfer was made to the *Cocopah*, of the Johnson Company, for the voyage up river. Again a long period of silence followed before an account of the voyage reached San Francisco, and again the news was disappointing.

> This morning I telegraphed you that "the Colorado freight is lying at Hardy's Landing. Teams returned empty. Don't pay freight." Since then Mr. Call has reached here and gives me the following information: That the steamer with the freight for Utah Landing got up the river to within ten miles of El Dorado Cañon, where she lay a short time casting off her barges, which went up to El Dorado Cañon, unloaded a quantity of freight for that place and returned, the steamer returning to Hardy's Landing and putting my freight ashore on the opposite side of the river, where there is no protection from Indians or any one else, the Captain and Mr. Hardy stating that that was the head of navigation. . . . Mr Call . . . sent two messengers—John King and Walton Phelps—to Hardyville to see if such were true. . . . they . . . saw the freight piled up on the beach close to the water, in much danger of being swept away. . . .
>
> . . . At the time the steamer reached El Dorado there were 5 feet of a rise of water, which would give from 8 to 10 feet more in the channel, so that the lack of water was no obstacle. . . . Mr. Call thinks that if Hardy had not been with the steamer the Captain would have gone up to Utah Landing.
>
> This seems to endorse Capt. Trueworthy's statements and reports, viz: that Mr. Hardy would put every obstacle in the way of the river being navigated above this landing, and endeavor to monopolize the trade and freighting of the river. . . .[88]

Thus ended the second unsuccessful attempt to reach Callville. Many would have admitted defeat, but not Samuel Adams. A year later he prevailed on Capt. Robert T. Rogers, then operating the *Esmeralda* for the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company, to make a third attempt to reach the Utah Landing. The leading proponent of the Salt Lake trade was the firm of R. G. Sneath, of San Francisco. Richard G. Sneath was one of the several San Francisco merchants who held stock in the Trueworthy Company, and it was largely through him that this final effort was made. In June 1866, it was reported that a branch of the Sneath Company had been established at Callville and that an agent with a large group of men had arrived "ten days ago from Salt Lake City, to place the warehouses . . . in proper condition to receive merchandise which is expected in about a week."[89] In September A. P. Dibble, a San Francisco merchant, was at Callville preparing for "a shipment of goods from R. G. Sneath."[90] Preparation for the ascent to Callville was begun in June 1866, when it was reported that the *Esmeralda* was tied up at Yuma waiting for flood waters to recede before going on. It was not until August that the *Esmeralda*, accompanied by the indefatigable Adams, was able to proceed. She reached La Paz on the eighth,[91] but it was probably near the end of October before she finally arrived at Callville. The *Alta California* for November 16 carried news of the momentous event.[92] She towed a barge 126 feet long by 27 wide, with between 90 and 100 tons of freight, and seems not to have encountered any unusual difficulty in making the ascent. Her arrival at Callville must have been the occasion for an enthusiastic welcome, although the only report of that event states tersely: "Cannon were fired and other demonstrations of joy indulged in."[93]

Meanwhile the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company was experiencing many difficulties in its competition with the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. River trade was not sufficient to justify five steamers, yet in 1867 Johnson added still another to the river fleet, the *Cocopah No. 2*.[94] Competition was keen. During fifteen years of shipping on the river, Johnson had built up a trade with which the Trueworthy Company was finding it very difficult to compete. Because Johnson controlled the cream of the river trade, the new company was forced to undertake the more hazardous and less profitable voyages. Furthermore the new company had begun operations with limited finances. To add to its embarrassment the company became involved in a lawsuit with the Colorado Steam Navigation Company which kept Trueworthy in San Francisco much of the time, while his boats remained tied up on the river for long intervals.[95] Consequently there is some evidence that the *Esmeralda* was attached for debt before September 1867.[96]

In San Francisco, Sneath continued his efforts to interest merchants in the Utah trade, but with little success. Some interest was shown in October 1866, when the following exaggerated report on cotton production on the Muddy was published in the *Alta California*, but again nothing was done:[97]

> We were . . . shown a sample of cotton received by R. G. Sneath from his agent at Callville, Arizona. . . . The sample is of the upland, or short staple variety, and . . . is not to be surpassed in the most favored regions of the Southern States. It was grown by a colony of Mormons who have settled within 25 miles of Callville, and have raised this season a crop of between 70,000 and 80,000 pounds, with intent to ship to California. . . . The price of freight between San Francisco and Callville has been 5 cents per pound . . . which price competition . . . would considerably reduce. . . .[98]

In September, a year later, Sneath called together a group of fifty merchants at the Exchange in San Francisco to discuss again the revival of trade with Utah. He pointed out that in 1866 he had taken goods costing $37,000 in San Francisco to Callville and, after adding a freight bill of $31,000 more, had been able to sell them at a profit.[99] Two more meetings were held in October at which Samuel Adams, with the aid of Captain Rogers, testified to the unlimited possibilities of navigation on the Colorado. Following the second meeting, on the twenty-fourth, a committee was appointed to take stock subscriptions for the purpose of continuing the trade. On November 8, the committee reported that it had raised $22,000, and, although the members were charged with having property on the river from which they would benefit, the campaign continued.[100] It is probable that as a result of these meetings, the Pacific and Colorado Steam Navigation Company was reorganized as the Arizona Navigation Company. The title did not last long, for within a few months the company sold its interest in the *Esmeralda* and the *Nina Tilden* to the Colorado Steam Navigation Company,[101] marking the end of four years of competition on the Colorado.[102] Never again was the supremacy of the latter challenged; until the coming of the railroad in 1877 it remained the sole transportation agency on the river.

Although traffic on the lower Colorado was at its height in the 1870's, navigation on the upper waters of the river ceased after the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in May 1869. Little business was carried on at Callville after 1866.[103] The trip was long, the river treacherous, and freight rates high. The experiment, the brunt of which the Trueworthy Company had borne, proved too difficult and costly. As a result of the expense of the business and the competition of the Johnson Company, Trueworthy's financial insolvency and eventual withdrawal from the river trade were inevitable. The second legislative assembly of Arizona, in appreciation of their efforts, thanked Trueworthy and Adams "for their untiring energy and indomitable enterprise . . . in opening up the navigation of the Colorado River,"[104] and two years later the California legislature passed a similar resolution.[105] As for Callville, the mail rider in 1869 reported that horse thieves from St. George had "wrenched four doors from the warehouse there, constructed a raft of them, and . . . had launched out upon the turbulent stream."[106] The old rock walls, however, remained an enduring monument to a once promising enterprise until the rising waters of Lake Mead enveloped them in their present unconventional grave.[107]

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. San Francisco *Alta California*, December 31, 1852.

2. James M. Guinn, "Yuma Indian Depredations and the Glanton War," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, VI (1903), 50.

According to Bancroft, a Mr. Howard and party descended the Gila on a flatboat which arrived at the Gila-Colorado junction on November 1, 1849. Lieutenant Cave Johnson Coutts, commanding an escort to the party engaged in surveying the United States-Mexican boundary, supposedly purchased the craft and used it as a ferry during his stay there. Coutts himself mentions neither the purchase nor the ferry. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 486-87.

3. Guinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; "Depredations by the Yumas" (deposition of William

Carr), *op. cit.*, pp. 52-56; "Origin of the Trouble between the Yumas and Glanton" (deposition of Jeremiah Hill), *op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.

4. Bascom Ashbury Cecil-Stevens, "A Biographical Sketch of L. J. F. Iaeger," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, I (1889), 38. Louis John Frederick Jaeger (spelled also Yaeger and Iaeger) was born at Hamburg, Pennsylvania, in 1824. He came to California, via Cape Horn, in 1849. Members of the party organized to operate the ferry, as he recalled them, were: George A. Johnson and B. M. Hartshorne, later of the Steam Navigation Company, William Blake, and Dr. Minton, Captain Ankrim, Mr. Tough, Mr. Moses, Captain Ogden, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Potter, and Mr. Heinzelwood, whose first names he did not recall.

Edward D. Tuttle, in "The River Colorado," *Arizona Historical Review*, I (1928), 51, mentions Benjamin Hartshorne, George A. Johnson, Dr. Ogden, Ankrim, Minturn, Blake, Taffe, Moses, and Archibald.

5. George William Beattie, "The Diary of a Ferryman and Trader at Fort Yuma, 1855-1857," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, XIV, Pt. II (1929), 224. The above sum is obtained by using 12½¢ as the ferry rate. The information was taken from a record, purportedly that of Jaeger, found in 1913 at Agua Mansa, California, where he spent his last years. This record is a brief daily account of happenings at the ferry during a two-year period from December 1, 1855, to July 2, 1857.

6. A member of the company, Thomas William Sweeny, kept a journal in which he recorded important events at the fort between 1850 and 1853. He states: "We struck the Rio Colorado . . . on the 1st of December [1850], and after following it up for some ten or twelve miles we pitched our tents and called our position Camp Yuma, in honor of the tribe of Indians who inhabit the surrounding country. We subsequently moved to a hill a mile farther up, opposite the mouth of the Gila River . . ." On December 6, a year later, when the post was abandoned, Sweeny refers to it as Camp Independence. When the troops returned to the Colorado in February 1852, the post was probably moved to a third location and renamed Fort Yuma, for on March 12, 1853, Sweeny records: "The Colorado Ferry has moved down to within a half a mile of my old camp—'Independence' —and about six miles from here." See Thomas William Sweeny, "Military Occupation of California, 1849-1853," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, XLVI (1909), 97-117 and 267-89.

In his report of July 15, 1853, Major Heintzelman said: "Fort Yuma was established by three small companies of the second infantry, under my command, in November, 1850." 34th Cong., 3d sess., H. Exec. Doc. 76 (1856-57), p. 34.

7. 32d Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 81 (1851), p. 2.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 20. See also George H. Derby, *Topographical Reports* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1933), pp. 61-62. The San Francisco *Alta California*, April 26, 1852, describes the *Invincible* as a naval vessel with a keel measuring 225 feet, beam of 42 feet, draft of 20 feet when loaded, and a capacity of 1,768 tons.

9. San Diego *Herald*, June 26, 1851.

10. Sweeny returned to the Gila with Heintzelman's command in March 1852. Sweeny, *op. cit.*

11. The Yuma Indians are said to have numbered 972 in October 1852. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

12. George Alonzo Johnson, "The Steamer General Jesup," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, IX (June 1932), 110.

13. The San Diego *Herald*, January 24, 1852, records: "The *Sierra Nevada* . . . will go to sea this afternoon, in case the tide serves." See also the San Diego *Herald*, January 28, 1852.

14. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1852.

15. See Sweeny, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.

16. San Francisco *Alta California*, March 31, 1852.

17. San Diego *Herald*, April 3, 1852.

18. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 8, 1852.

19. San Diego *Herald*, April 30, 1852.

20. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1852, and San Francisco *Alta California*, July 11, 1852. The *Herald* merely states that a contract was awarded to a person in Benicia, but it could be none other than Mr. Turnbull.

21. San Francisco *Alta California*, August 2, 1852.

22. Sweeny, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

24. *Loc. cit.*

25. Sweeny, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

26. Sweeny, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-86, states that a train of twenty-three wagons loaded with quartermaster's goods arrived from San Diego on January 21, 1853, four wagons on February 29, and a wagon "train" on May 8 with forage and supplies.

27. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* (New York, 1854), p. 172.

28. San Diego *Herald*, July 9, 1853, and San Francisco *Alta California*, July 15, 1853. A notation on her register states that the *Uncle Sam* was lost on June 25, 1853.

29. Sweeny, *op. cit.*, p. 287, writes under date of June 12, 1853: "The steamer *Uncle Sam*, while fastened at Ankrim's Ferry, filled with water from some unknown cause, and went down. O'Connell and ten men were sent down to raise her, and after two days' hard work she broke her fastenings on the third and disappeared."

30. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, August 25, 1877. Captain Turnbull is described as "an energetic, smooth talking little fellow." Later he is reported to be running a small steamer at Mazatlan.

31. There is some evidence that the Quartermaster's Department had some intention of constructing a steamer to be operated under army supervision between the mouth of the river and Fort Yuma. The *Alta California* of March 26, 1853, noted that a seventy-ton steamer, to be used on the Colorado River, was being contracted for in San Francisco. The plan evidently did not materialize.

32. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-18. George Alonzo Johnson was born at Palatine Bridge, New York, in 1824, and came to California on the steamer *Panama* in 1849. He operated steamers on the Colorado River until 1877 and then returned to California. He died at Old Town, San Diego, on November 27, 1903.

33. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 9, 1854. Many accounts list the capacity of the *Jesup* as sixty tons. The *Record of Registers*, XIII (1854-57), 28, shows that she measured $49\frac{63}{95}$ tons.

34. San Francisco *Alta California*, December 14, 1854, and San Diego *Herald*, December 9, 1854.

35. Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 30, 1855. Concerning the arrival of the *Colorado* at the mouth of the river the *Union* reports: "There are four vessels down the river with stores and materials for a new steamer. . . . The steamer running at present has been making five and six day trips, but can only bring thirty or forty tons. Four vessels are lying up at the mouth of the river, to be discharged by teaspoonfuls every five or six days."

36. San Francisco *Alta California*, December 27, 1855, and San Diego *Herald*, December 22, 1855. She is described as the "swiftest boat ever put on the river." Her machinery was later put in the *Colorado No. 2*, her boiler hauled out on the bank below Yuma, and her hull stranded at the Gridiron.

37. The private vessels, *Falmouth*, Captain Meyer, *George Emery*, Captain Trask, and *Toranto*, Captain Sangers, traded at the mouth of the Colorado during 1855.

38. The U. S. brig *General Jesup* must not be confused with the river steamer of the same name which operated only until 1861.

39. San Francisco *Alta California*, March 12 and April 7, 1856. The *Colorado*, although a sixty-ton boat, is reported to have brought up seventy-two tons of freight to Yuma in one trip.

40. "On April 6, 1856, George A. Johnson paid taxes on the *Colorado*, valued at $20,000, and on the *Gen'l Jessup*, assessed for $2,000." Jerry MacMullen, "Self-Liquidating Shipyard," *Westways*, XXXIII (September 1941), 25.

41. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted citizens of the United States the right to navigate the Gulf and the Colorado River, but since Arizona had no port on the gulf, and customs duties were excessive, they avoided the latter by casting anchor off Port Isabel in mid-channel and transferring cargo and passengers directly to the river steamers.

42. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-18.

43. Joseph C. Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West Explored in 1857 and 1858* (Washington, D. C., 1861), p. 36.

44. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

45. On his return trip Johnson met the Beale party returning from Los Angeles. "Saturday, January 23, 1858. We reached the Colorado river early in the morning. . . . the . . . 'General Jesup' . . . was at the crossing waiting to convey us to the opposite side." [Edward F. Beale], *Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 124 (May 12, 1858), p. 76.

46. The Prescott *Weekly Arizona Miner*, May 18, 1877, and the San Francisco *Alta California*, February 27, 1858, carry stories of the accidental sinking of the *General Jesup* on her homeward voyage. She ran onto a sunken rock, breaking a hole in the bottom, and sank in the shallow water. See the account of Johnson, *op. cit.* Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders* (San Francisco, 1891), V, 154, states that "the *General Jessup* was afloat again in two days." The *Alta California*, April 12, 1858, states: "the steamer *Jessup*, lately sunk . . . has been raised." She operated on the river until 1861. Regarding her final disposition the Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878, states that her machinery was taken out and sent to San Francisco and her hull was floated into the Minturn Slough.

47. San Francisco *Alta California*, February 15 and 27, 1858.

48. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1859. It was reported that the *Explorer* could not navigate successfully on the Colorado during high water because of the strong current.

49. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, July 5, 1873.

50. Godfrey Sykes, *The Colorado Delta* (Washington, D. C., 1937), pp. 91-93.

51. Fort Mohave was named early in May 1859. It was deserted in April 1861, on account of the Civil War, and was not reoccupied until April 1863.

52. San Francisco *Alta California*, February 7, February 10, and March 17, 1859. The steamer *Uncle Sam* should not be confused with the small river steamer of the same name which operated in 1852-53. She was built in New York in 1852, and operated on the Pacific Coast until 1876.

53. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1866.

54. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1869. The *Continental* sailed on October 23, but discovered, after

putting to sea, that there were no rations aboard for the troops. Consequently she returned on the 24th, and was to sail that afternoon, or on the 25th.

55. San Francisco *Alta California*, September 9, 1859. The *Alta California* for March 30, 1859, describes Robinson's Landing as a single house built on stilts above high water mark, some 140 miles by water south of Yuma. There was no fresh water to be had here and the surroundings were bleak and desolate.

56. The Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 9, 1862, contains the announcement of the launching of a "new steamer" at Yuma. In all probability it refers to the launching of the *Colorado* or *Cocopah* after they had been repaired or remodeled.

57. The name George A. Johnson & Company was discarded in 1859. The *Alta California* for May 17, 1859, uses the name later adopted, "Colorado Steam Navigation Co."

58. MacMullen, *op. cit.*, p. 25. A tax receipt issued October 25, 1862, shows that the Johnson Company was assessed on three steamers valued at $15,000.

59. San Francisco *Alta California*, December 13, 1863.

60. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany." LXXXII, Pt. 1, 85.

61. Latter Day Saints, "Journal History of the Church," October 23, 1851 (MS in the church historian's office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

62. Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, April 2, 1853.

63. San Francisco *Alta California*, August 21, 1854. Colorado City later became the present-day Yuma, Arizona. It was situated across the river from Fort Yuma, California.

64. Ira J. Miles and George W. Bean, "Record of the Las Vegas Mission, 1855-57" (MS in the historian's office, Latter Day Saints Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 17, 1855). All references are made by date rather than page.

65. "St. George Stake Records, 1847-1873" (MS in Latter Day Saints Temple, St. George, Utah), I. This work contains extracts taken from Amasa M. Lyman's journal of exploration, a complete day by day account of the expedition from April 4 to May 3, 1858.

66. Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, July 3, 1867. A complete account of the expedition is given.

67. San Francisco *Alta California*, July 7, 1861.

68. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 279.

69. William B. Rice, "Early Freighting on the Salt Lake-San Bernardino Trail," *Pacific Historical Review*, XI (March 1942), 75. Extracts from a journal of a trip from Great Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, 1853-54, made by the Salt Lake merchants, John and Enoch Reese, printed in the Los Angeles *Star*, February 18, 1854.

70. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, January 16, 1863.

71. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 2, 1864.

72. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1864.

73. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, January 16, 1864. Members of the committee were Caleb S. Hobbs, chairman; Samuel Adams, James S. Hatstead, John N. Risdon, Wm. R. Wadsworth, and J. B. Chevalier.

74. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878. The *Victoria* originally was a barge intended for use on the Yang Tse in China. Trueworthy rigged her out as a four-masted schooner. She was loaded with 400,000 feet of lumber for the construction of river barges and was sent to the Colorado. Here she ran afoul of her anchor, breaking a hole in her hull. She was later towed to Port Famine Slough and was accidentally burned there when the Indians fired the slough.

75. The *Esmeralda* was built in San Francisco by Pat Tienman. She had one deck and a square stern. Her dimensions are listed in the *Record of Registers* as follows: Length 93 feet, beam 20 feet, draft 2 feet 9 inches, and tonnage $46\frac{85}{95}$

76. The *Nina Tilden* was built in San Francisco by Martin Vice and was launched on July 23, 1864. She had one deck, a square stern, was 98 feet long, 22 feet in width of beam,

and 4 feet in depth. Her Temporary Enrollment No. 7, issued at San Diego, August 7, 1873, bears the notation, "Vessel wrecked Sept. 27/74." See also "Hayes Scraps." III, Arizona, Vol. 3 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

77. The agent for the mining company in San Francisco was A. F. Tilden; that for the Union Line, William R. Wadsworth; and for the Johnson Company, R. E. Raimond.

78. San Francisco *Alta California*, July 12, 1864. The mining company advertised the sailing of the *Sarah* to connect with the *Nina Tilden* on the river; the Johnson Company, the *Storm Cloud* to connect with their *Colorado, Mohave,* and *Cocopah;* and the Union Line, the *Alice* to connect with the *Esmeralda.*

79. The *Record of Registers* lists the *Colorado No. 2* as having been built in 1865. It is possible, however, that she was constructed in 1862. The Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 9, 1862, carries an interesting account of a launching at Yuma which took place in May of that year, and in June the Los Angeles *Star* commented: "Captain Wilcox . . . arrived here on the 6th. . . . The captain informs me that he has just completed the building of a fine little steamer for the Colorado. The following are her dimensions: Length, 153 feet; 28 feet beam; 750 tons burden; draws 28 inches of water." "Hayes Scraps," VII, Arizona, Vol. 5 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). Whether it was merely a reconstruction of the *Colorado No. 1* or a completely new vessel is unknown.

80. The most reliable information on steamer dimensions was received through correspondence with Mr. P. M. Hamer, director of research and records division, The National Archives, Washington, D. C., from files of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Department of Commerce. The information was taken from the *Record of Registers* of the river steamers. For the later river steamers see also "Merchant Vessels of the United States," Bureau of Navigation, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., for the years 1892 to 1901.

81. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 288.

82. "Moapa Stake Records," December 2, 1864 (MS record in the office of the Latter Day Saints' church historian, Salt Lake City, Utah).

83. Salt Lake *Telegraph*, March 8, 1865, and San Francisco *Alta California*, March 29, 1865.

84. San Francisco *Alta California*, January 15 and 23, 1865.

85. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 437. This date has been placed erroneously in 1864, but 1865 is correct. See also San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, April 13, 1865, for a similar report.

86. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 439-40. Since the account states that they arrived before the warehouse was completed, it necessarily follows that they turned back before the end of February 1865.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 493.

88. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, March 14 and July 8, 1865. The shipment was made by James Linforth, of San Francisco, to William Jennings, of Salt Lake City, and consisted of "Agricultural Implements, Steel, Nails, Rope, Coffee, Pepper, Groceries, etc."

89. San Francisco *Alta California*, June 21, 1866.

90. Prescott *Weekly Arizona Miner*, September 26, 1866. It is probable that the Dibble referred to was in reality Albert Dibblee, a prominent San Francisco merchant of that time.

91. San Francisco *Alta California*, September 8, 1866.

92. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1866.

93. *Loc. cit.*

94. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878. The *Cocopah No. 1* was taken to Port Isabel, where a warehouse was built on her. Later she was accidentally burned. Her

machinery was sent to San Francisco and put aboard the *Hattie Fickett*, where it ran two years longer. The *Cocopah No. 2* had one deck and a square stern. She measured 147.5 feet in length, 28 feet in width of beam, 3.8 feet in depth, and had a capacity of 231.37 tons. Her last Temporary Register, No. 4, issued at El Paso, Texas, October 21, 1877, and surrendered there December 31, 1881, bears the notation "vessel burned."

95. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 7, 1867. It was reported that the *Nina Tilden* and *Esmeralda* were laid up at Yuma, and Captain Trueworthy and Adams were in Salt Lake "imploring Brigham Young to aid them."

96. *Ibid.*, September 28 and October 15, 1867.

97. "Moapa Stake Records: The Muddy Mission," February 11, 1866. It was estimated by the Mormons on the Muddy that only nine thousand pounds of ginned cotton were produced in 1866. Propaganda and repetition between Callville and California seem to have made up the difference.

98. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 438-39.

99. San Francisco *Alta California*, September 28, 1867.

100. San Francisco *Alta California*, October 23 and 24 and November 18, 1867.

101. Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Sykes states that the *Esmeralda* was beached at the shipyard and her hull was used afterward as a warehouse. In 1874 the *Nina Tilden*, moored at Port Isabel and leaking badly, was overturned by a heavy bore. Her wreckage blocked the passage to the port and she was subsequently chopped up to clear the channel. See the Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878.

102. MacMullen, *op. cit.*, p. 25. On May 3, 1867, the "New Steamboat Co." paid taxes on "one steamboat $6,000, three barges, $6,000."

103. San Francisco *Alta California*, September 24, 1867. The paper reported that in 1867 a barge had gone up to Callville for a load of potatoes and other vegetables but had failed to contact the persons expected, and had taken on a load of salt and lime instead.

104. Territory of Arizona, *Acts*, Second Legislative Assembly, Prescott, 1866.

105. *Navigation of the Colorado River, Resolution of the Legislature of California, Asking Congress to Aid Captain Truesworthy, of San Francisco, to Perfect the Navigation of the Colorado River, in the Territory of Arizona*, 40th Cong., 2d sess, H. Misc. Doc. 142 (1868).

106. Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, June 16, 1869.

107. Callville was the county seat of Pah-Ute County for several years. Troops from Fort Mohave were stationed there and at Las Vegas after the Civil War.

THE AUTHOR

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Afterword on Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker

By Milton H. Shutes

IN this *Quarterly* for December 1938 there is a biographical sketch of Colonel E. D. Baker which emphasizes his long, close friendship with Abraham Lincoln. It concludes with the following sentence:

> Within a mounded circle, under a table in inscribed marble, on the crest of Laurel Hill Cemetery, once christened Lone Mountain, and dedicated to the hope of immortality by Colonel Baker himself, lies the dust of the Gray Eagle, the singularly gifted orator and devoted Unionist of the Pacific Coast.

Since that paragraph was written the lure of real-estate values has effaced Lone Mountain (Laurel Hill) Cemetery. For over eighty years the body of Colonel Baker lay in the topmost grave of its highest hill, under an inscribed marble table in the center of a grass-carpeted mound twenty-five feet in diameter which was upheld by a three-foot retaining wall of rock—a beautiful and dignified setting overlooking the city. All this, erected in 1861, by public subscription, is now scattered.

On May 21, 1940, in the presence of a few members of the Colonel E. D. Baker Camp, Sons of Civil War Veterans, the rusted iron casket was removed from its small brick tomb. It was transferred to a new, officers' section in the National Cemetery in San Francisco's Presidio and buried on a sloping hillside near the Golden Gate. The remains of Mary Lee Baker again lie anonymously by those of her husband. Marking the site there now stands, in honorable but poignant contrast to the original monument, a regulation-size head-stone, two feet high, inscribed: "Edward Dickinson Baker, Sr., California, Colonel U. S. Army, October 21, 1861." Next to it stands an identical stone marked: "Edward Dickinson Baker, Jr., Illinois, Major U. S. Army, January 15, 1883."

Major Edward D. Baker, Jr., whose remains were transferred on the same date from Laurel Hill Cemetery, is identified by a letter written by Abraham Lincoln to A. G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, on May 26, 1862:

> The bearer of this, Edward D. Baker, is the son of my very dear friend Col. Baker, who fell at Balls Bluff. He thinks you might be induced to make him a field officer in the Pennsylvania Regiment. Disclaiming all wish to interfere in a matter so purely belonging to you and your state, I still say I would be much pleased, if he could be obliged.[1]

A street in San Francisco, a fort inside its harbor, and a town and county in Oregon were named for Colonel Baker. Editorials, petitions, and projects for a statue appeared in San Francisco newspapers almost until 1900. Tombstones and monuments are of the earth's changing surface; whatever is worth remembering of Colonel Baker is secure in the history of California and in the immortal story of Abraham Lincoln.

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[1] Gilbert A. Tracy, ed., *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), p. 208.

California Copyrights, 1851-1856

With Notes on Certain Ghost Books

By Edith Margaret Coulter

WHAT WAS the first California book to be copyrighted, and what type of material did our early California authors and artists consider worthy of protection under the copyright law? Probably not one in a hundred readers of this magazine can answer these questions without referring to the pages that follow. Book collectors and bibliographers have long been interested in the earliest California imprints, but little attention has been given to the first copyrights, although a complete record of the books, maps, and prints entered for copyright in California from 1851 to 1870 has been preserved. The Copyright Record Book of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California may be consulted in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress.[1] A microfilm of the Record, secured by the writer in 1940, and an enlarged photo-print of each entry are now in the Bancroft Library, at the University of California. A study of this Record for the years 1851 to 1856 appears of considerable interest in that it gives a picture of the product of the local presses during the early years of statehood. Of the books entered during this period twenty-two titles have not been identified, and they may therefore be considered California ghost books until copies make their appearance.

The history of copyright legislation as it affected California is here briefly stated. Prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, all of the original states, except Delaware, had passed copyright laws.[2] This early legislation was due largely to the interest of Noah Webster, who journeyed from state to state advocating the protection of the rights of authors. The encouragement of letters by securing to authors for a limited time the exclusive ownership of their writings was not then a new idea to the delegates to the Federal Convention in Philadelphia. Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution contained the principle, but it was necessary to enact legislation to provide for the administration of the copyright privilege. Consequently, "An act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned," was approved at the second session of the First Congress, May 31, 1790.[3] This law required that the author or proprietor deposit a copy of any book or map published, or deposit a printed copy of the title of such book or map, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court where the author or proprietor shall reside. The Clerk was required to record the entry in a book to be kept by him for that purpose. The manuscript record so kept comprises the official list of copyrights issued. The author or proprietor was also required to deposit a copy with the United States Secretary of State within six months of publication.

Many amendments to the copyright law were enacted from 1790 to 1870. In 1802 prints were added to the list of material protected by copyright.[4] A law passed in 1831[5] required that within three months the claimant was to deposit a copy of his work, not with the Secretary of State as formerly, but with the Clerk of the District Court, and the Clerk was enjoined to send, at least once a year, to the Secretary of State a certified list of all such records of copyright, including the titles so recorded, the dates of records, and also all the several copies of books and other works deposited in his office. The idea of building up a national repository of the literature produced in this country, and of protecting the author by an official record, led to the act of 1846,[6] which provided that within three months of publication one copy of each item should be delivered to the Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, and one to the Librarian of Congress. In 1859[7] a law was approved which centered the records, deposits, and functions in the Patent Office; and the materials in the Department of State were transferred to this office. The law requiring copies to be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution and in the Library of Congress was repealed. In 1865[8] the Library of Congress was again made the depository and the proprietor was required to deposit the copy within one month of publication. In this same measure, of March 3, 1865, the privilege of the copyright was extended to include photographs and their negatives. In 1870[9] a new copyright law was enacted in which the registration of copyright was centered in the Library of Congress, and all records and deposits in the Patent Office and in the many District Courts were to be turned over to that institution.

The District Courts for Northern and for Southern California were established by Act of September 28, 1850.[10] Ogden Hoffman held the office of judge of the District Court for Northern California from February 27, 1851, to July 27, 1866, on which date the Court was reorganized. James McHall Jones was appointed judge for the Southern District of California on December 26, 1850, but was prevented by illness from assuming his legal duties, his death occurring on December 15, 1851.[11] Isaac S. K. Ogier, his successor, was not appointed until January 23, 1854, and held office until May 1861. Fletcher M. Haight, who succeeded him on August 5, 1861, served as judge until his death on February 23, 1866. The Court for the Southern District was abolished on July 27, 1866,[12] at which time the two courts were united as the District Court of California at San Francisco, Judge Hoffman presiding. The Southern District was recreated by act of August 5, 1886.[13] By the terms of the act of July 27, 1866, abolishing the Southern District, the Clerk thereof was required to transfer all papers, books and records to the San Francisco court.

By the Act of 1886 reconstituting the Southern District only current case records were to be sent south and then only when there was a request that the case be transferred. In reply to a recent inquiry the Deputy Clerk of the Northern District stated that to his knowledge there were no copyright records or books for the early period remaining in the San Francisco files.[14]

The writer is unaware of a record of copyright, for the period 1854-1856, granted by the Southern District, or of title copyrighted. That there were few if any books copyrighted during this period is partly substantiated by an article by Willard O. Waters, entitled "Los Angeles Imprints 1851-1876," which appeared in the *Quarterly* of the Historical Society of Southern California.[15] This checklist shows that for the years 1851-1856, other than official proclamations, broadsides, etc., only three books or pamphlets were printed —William Money's *Reform of the New Testament Church*, 1854; *Mormon Politics and Policies*, by order of United Independent Democrats, 1856; and Money's *Discovery of the Ocean*, 1854. Mr. Waters had not located a copy of the latter, and no record of copyright appears in the other two.

There were entered for copyright in the Northern District of California for the five-year period October 25, 1851, to December 4, 1856, one hundred and nineteen items. These consisted of sixty books, thirty-six lithographs, seven maps, four musical compositions, two broadsides, two newspapers, and six labels. It is to be remembered that the more important books relating to California, or books by authors who remained for only a short time in the State, were published east of the Mississippi or in Europe. Those published in California were for the most part ephemeral, but they present a picture of the interests and problems of a new society.

For example, the first two California books to be entered for copyright related to Mormonism. The first, entered on October 25, 1851, by Nelson Slater, entitled *The Fruits of Mormonism*, was published at Coloma, by Harmon and Springer. Cowan states that it was "apparently the only book published in the historic town of Coloma."[16] Slater was one of some thousand persons forced by illness, loss of horses, and weather conditions to spend the winter in Salt Lake Valley while en route to the California gold mines. On reaching Carson Valley a group of these men decided to formulate a statement of the conditions imposed by the Mormons and to recount the treatment received at their hands. In addition to the statement, a petition to Congress, with a hundred and fifty signatures, asking that a military government be established in the Utah Territory, was drawn up. Slater embodied this account and petition in his *Fruits of Mormonism.* The second book, copyrighted five days later, strangely enough also related to the Mormons. The *Abominations of Mormonism Exposed, Containing Many Facts and Doctrines, Concerning That Singular People, during Seven Years of Mem-*

bership with Them from 1840 to 1847 was written by William Hall. It was entered for copyright by William McNair on October 30, 1851, and was published in Cincinnati the following year by J. Hart and Company. The feeling in California against the Mormons is further indicated by the fact that one of the early imprints of Los Angeles was entitled *Mormon Politics and Policy, Political and Judicial Acts of the Mormon Authorities in San Bernardino, California, Proceedings of Public Meetings to Counteract the Influence of Mormon Doctrines as Taught to the Indians.* This small pamphlet was printed at the office of *El Clamor Publico,* Francisco P. Ramirez and Co., printers, in 1856.

By 1851 interest in California as a permanent residence is evidenced by a group of titles on the resources, the economic future and the problems of land ownership. John J. Werth's *Dissertation on the Resources and Policy of California* was published by St. Clair and Pinkham in 1851, one of the few titles printed at Benicia. A number of residents, including John Charles Frémont, Edward F. Beale, Hall McAllister, and William D. M. Howard, had urged Werth to embody the substance of a series of letters that he had contributed to the *Alta California* into a more permanent form. James M. Crane in his *The Past, the Present and the Future of the Pacific* expressed the attitude of settlers who were impatient with the Federal Government for its failure to provide military roads, railroads and telegraph lines across the continent. The book was an elaboration of two lectures delivered by Crane in San Francisco. *The Settlers' Guide* by George W. Gift, published at Benicia and reprinted three years later at Stockton, is a summary of federal and state laws relating to preemption claims in California. Gift was a midshipman on the *St. Mary* and visited California in 1848. He later left the Navy and lived in Sacramento, San Rafael, and Napa.

A series of titles descriptive of western types—the miner, the gambler, the desperado—began with the publication in 1853 of Alonzo Delano's *Pen Knife Sketches or Chips of the Old Block,* followed by his *Old Block's Sketch Book or Tales of California Life.* Both were illustrated by Charles Nahl, "the Cruikshank of California," to quote from the title page of the latter, and both were among the "best sellers" of the fifties. *California Characters by Whittlestick and Mining Scenes and Sketches by an Old Miner* is attributed to Henry C. Williston. It was published by Bonestell and Williston, Wide West Office, San Francisco, 1855. Another book published anonymously was *George Denny or Sketches of Life in the Far West by Chinquopin.* P. P. Hull and Company published this at the *Town Talk* office, San Francisco, 1856. In a somewhat different vein, John Rollin Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit, by Yellow Bird* was registered for copyright on June 3, 1854.

Californians loved to sing, if we may judge from the quantity of song books and sheet music copyrighted. On November 15, 1852, George Fawcett entered for copyright "Songs of the Mines, Written Expressly for the Sons of the Rocker by Robin Rover." The title page bore the following lines:

> No shrilly strain, miscalled a song
> The high-flown air I bring you
> But, if your nerves are pretty strong
> A sailor's song I'll sing you.

On April 16, 1852, Joseph F. Atwell sought copyright protection for the "San Francisco Quadrilles Arranged from the Most Favorite Negro Melodies for the Pianoforte, Respectfully Dedicated to the Ladies of California by Their Sincere Admirer, George Peck." *Put's Original Songs as Sung by the Sierra Nevada Rangers with Unbounded Applause throughout the State* was entered on September 20, 1854, by John A. Stone. In 1854 Nicholas Charles Bochsa entered for copyright two volumes of opera entitled *Anna Bishop's Operatic Library*. Madame Bishop gave a series of concerts that year at the Metropolitan Theater in San Francisco. Bochsa, a harpist, acted as the manager. The books were published during this engagement. M. A. Richter presented for copyright a musical composition entitled "The California Pioneers," and Stephen C. Masset, the title "Clear the Way or Song of the Wagon Road." Masset, an Englishman, had come to California in 1846. He gave entertainments in San Francisco at which he sang his own songs. Notice of his farewell concert appeared in the *Alta California* of February 22, 1852. In 1863 Masset wrote *Drifting About or What Jeems Pipes of Pipesville Saw and Did*. This work is autobiographical and relates incidents of his several visits to California.

In one instance the copyright record has aided in identifying a partial ghost—a book preserved only as an imperfect copy with title page and preliminary pages lacking. It bears the running title "Guide to California." Wagner in *Plains and the Rockies*[17] lists this under Platt, with date and place of publication lacking. The copy thus described was carried by Thomas Reber across the plains in 1854. On January 16, 1852, P. S. Platt and Nelson Slater, the latter the author of *Fruits of Mormonism*, entered for copyright a book entitled *The Traveller's Guide across the Plains, the Northern Overland Route from the States to California, Showing the Distances from Point to Point, Accurately Measured with Roadometers, and Describing the Springs, Streams of Water, Hills, Mountains, Camping Places, and Other Notable Objects along the Route, together with an Appendix, Containing the Routes from Council Bluffs to Fort Laramie, from Fort Leavenworth to the Big Blue River, the Routes by way of Salt Lake and Fort Hall, and a General Summary of Distances*. This is without doubt the book referred to by Wagner.

In another instance the title of a book was registered and remains in manuscript today—"The Narrative of the Life and Adventures of George C.

Yount, Comprising Much of the Early History of California and a Graphic Detail of the Scenes and Privations of a Border Life" by Orange Clark. A note in the Napa *Register* of October 1865 stated that "the Reverend Dr. Orange Clark of San Francisco once wrote a very interesting work on this old trapper (Yount) and it is probable that it will be published." Excerpts from Clark's "Narrative" were later printed in the California Historical Society QUARTERLY.[18] The Clark manuscript is now in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

Of the sixty books registered in the Northern District of California from October 25, 1851, to December 4, 1856, twenty-two have not been identified and are therefore phantoms to the writer. It is probable that certain titles were never published or were published in a small edition and if preserved at all exist only in an unique copy in private ownership or in a public collection not examined. The search for the titles is perhaps more of a game than a valued contribution to the history of book publication in the State. But whether they are ghosts or not, the intent to publish indicates the author's literary activities. For example, we learn from the copyright record that Warren Baer, the author of *The Duke of Sacramento,* wrote another play, "The Californian's Return"; that E. N. Spangenberg prepared for publication "A Trip to Australia or Lola Montez on the Fanny Major, A Local Drama in Two Acts"; that I. R. Poynter, M.D., wrote "Entewa, the Mountain Bird, a Romance of California Founded on Fact." Those interested in the mines might like to meet C. S. Capp's "Life West of the West," or "California Sketches Illustrating Life in the Mines"; or David Duncan's "The Miners' Guide Book"; or even George Fawcett's "Songs of the Mines, Written Expressly for the Sons of the Rocker by Robin Rover."

A list of copyrights entered in the Northern District of California from October 25, 1851, to December 4, 1856, in chronological order and including not only books but prints, maps, and labels, is given below.[19] No attempt has been made to identify the maps and prints for this article. The first entry is given in full to show the form used, and the ghosts, or those books not identified, are indicated by asterisks. The writer would appreciate learning of the existence and location of any of the unidentified titles.

List of Books, Maps, Prints, and Labels Copyrighted in the Northern District of California, 1851-56

1851
Oct. 25

District Court of the United States
for the Northern [District] of California to wit: } Be it remembered that

on the 25th day of October Anno domini one thousand Eight Hundred & fifty-one N. Slater of the said District hath deposited in this office the title of a Book the title of which is in the words following to wit: Fruits of Mormonism or a fair & candid statement of facts illustrative of Mormon Principles Mormon policy & Mormon character by more than forty Eyewitnesses Compiled by N. Slater A.M. the right whereof he claims as author in conformity with an Act of Congress entitled An act to Amend the several Acts respecting Copy rights.

Jno A Monroe
Clerk of the Distr.

Oct. 30 Hall, William
The Abominations of Mormonism exposed, containing many Facts and Doctrines, concerning that singular People, during seven years membership with them from 1840 to 1847.

1852
Jan. 14 *Poynter, I. R.
Entewa, The Mountain Bird, a Romance of California, founded on fact.

Jan. 16 Platt, P. L., and Slater N[elson]
The Traveller's Guide, across the Plains, The Northern overland route, from the States to California, showing the distances from point to point, accurately measured with roadometers, and describing the Springs, Streams of water, Hills, Mountains, Camping places, and other notable objects along the route, together with an Appendix containing the Routes from Council Bluffs to Ft. Laramie, from Fort Leavenworth to the Big Blue river, The routes by way of Salt Lake, and Ft. Hall, and a general summary of distances.

Jan. 24 Shelton, C. A.
Miners Prospecting—and Miners Cabin, Result of the Day. (Lithograph engravings.)

Feb. 17 Sweeney, George F., and Baugh, Theodore E.
Marine Telegraph Signals. (Lithograph engraving.)

March 2 Paul, Charles F.
The Flying Fish. (Lithograph engraving.)

March 15 Goddard, G[eorge] H.
Sonora. (Lithograph engraving.)

March 14 Richter, M. A.
The California Pioneers. (Musical composition.)

March 25 Goddard, G. H.
Columbia. January, 1852. (Lithograph engraving.)

April 3 Morrill, Charles
The Eureka Compound for Fever & Ague and all Billious & Nervous diseases of a Periodic character. (Label.)

April 9 Pierce, J[oshua] H., and Johnson, W. H.
J. A. Sutter. (Lithograph.)

April 16 *Atwill, J[oseph] F.
The San Francisco Quadrilles, arranged from the most favorite Negro Melodies for the Piano Forte, respectfully dedicated to the Ladies of California by their sincere admirer, George Peck.

April 17 Sharp, George F., and Baugh, Theodore E.
Marine Telegraph Signals. (Lithograph.)

April 29 Werth, John J.
A dissertation on the resources and policy of California, mineral, agricultural, and commercial including a plan for the disposal of the mineral lands.

May 17 *Davis, George H., and Harris, A. H.
Bankers Merchants and Miners table for the purchase and sale of Gold-dust at from $16 & $17.50 per ounce from one grain to one Thousand Ounces.

July 9	Cooke & Le Count Stockton. (Lithograph engraving.)
July 9	Cooke & Le Count Sacramento City. (Lithograph engraving.)
Aug. 4	Parker, James M. San Francisco City Directory illustrated with a Map of the City.
Aug. 5	Cooke & Le Count Bird's Eye view of San Francisco. (Lithograph engraving.)
Oct. 7	Bennett, Nathaniel Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California.
Oct. 20	Plan of the village of Grass valley, Nevada County, California. (Lithograph.)
Nov. 5	Parker, James M. The San Francisco Directory for the year 1852-53 emgracing a general directory of Citizens, A Street Directory, A New & complete Map of the City, and an Appendix of general information, an Almanac, etc.
Nov. 15	*Fawcett, George Songs of the Miners, written expressly for the Sons of the Rocker by Robin Rover.
Nov. 20	*Bingham, William St. Maur Genealogical Tree of Jesus Christ showing the Descent of the Patriarchs, the Jewish Hierarchy and Historians with other interesting Matter.
Dec. 20	Ogilby, R. E. View of Ham's Mammoth Aqueduct, California. (Lithograph engraving.)
1853 March 12	Benton, J[oseph] A[ugustine] The California Pilgrim.
March 21	Britton, Rey & Trask Topographical Map of the Mineral Districts of California, being the first map published from Actual Survey, by John B. Trask. (Map.)
March 26	Eddy, William M. Approved and declared to be the Official Map of the State of California, by an Act of the Legislature passed March 26th, 1853. (Map.)
April 29	Wells, G. S. Sonora from the North. (Map, lithographed.) Springfield, Tuolumne County. (Map, lithographed.)
May 4	Barthrop, G. Yreka, Siskiyou County, A view from the Humbug Trail with Shasta Butte in the distance. (Lithograph engraving.)
May 12	*Wheeler, O[sgood] C[hurch] Sketches of the Life Trial Confession and Execution of Stewart Ackerman, & Thompson (Dunham) For the Murder of John Carroll, Alias "Boot Jack" in Sacramento City on the night of Feb. 20, 1853.
June 2	Taylor, Alexander S. The Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, first discoverer of the coasts of California and of his pilot Bartolome Ferrelo.

June 8	Hanford, H. Mammoth Arbor Vitæ standing on the head waters of the Stanislaus and San Antoine rivers in Calaveras County, California, diameter 31 feet at the base, circumference 96 feet, height 294 feet, 3000 years old. (Lithograph engraving.)
June 12	Ryan, R. F. California past and present, Judges and criminals or shadows of the past.
June 15	Richardson, John H. View of Camp Seco and Quartz Mountain, Tuolumne county. (Lithograph engraving.)
Aug. 6	Tennent, Thomas Map of Lower Oregon and Upper California from the latest and most authentic Surveys. (Map.)
Aug. 9	Hale & Emory Hale and Emory's Marysville City Directory, August 1853, First Publication.
Sept. 27	Britton & Rey Map of the State of California, drawn and compiled from the most recent surveys by J. B. Trask. (Map.)
Oct. 19	Colville, Samuel, Publisher The Sacramento "Directory for the year" 1853-54 embracing a general Directory of citizens, an Appendix of general information etc., together with a history of Sacramento, written by Dr. John F. Morse.
Oct. 25	Anthony, James, Publisher Pen Knife sketches or chips of the old Block, a series of illustrated letters written by one of California's Pioneer Miners . . .
Nov. 3	Adams & Co. Express Likeness of D. Hale Haskell Esq. one of the firm of Adams & Co. (Vignette, or stamp.)
Dec. 12	Hunt, T. Dwight The past and present of the Sandwich Islands, being a series of lectures to the First Congregational Church, San Francisco.
Dec. 30	Hutchings, James M[ason] The Miners ten Commandments.
1854 April 13	Hepburn, H. P. Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the state of California in the year 1852.
April 22	Gift, George W. Settler's Guide containing all the circulars and Laws relating to Pre-Emption claims in California.
April 22	*Kauffman, Edward A Miner's theory of Earth's construction and Relations.
May 6	Britton & Rey Capt. Sutter's account of the first-discovery of the Gold. (Broadside.)
May 11	*Toler, Hopeful Cornelia Bororquia or A Tale of the Inquisition, translated from the original in Spanish by an America Citizen to which is added an Appendix showing the number of victims to the Inquisition in Spain from 1452 to 1808.

June 3	Lindley, Charles, and Ridge, John R. The life and adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the celebrated California Bandit. By Yellow Bird.
June 6	Zakreski, Alexander An improved Topographical map of the Northern and Middle Mines compiled from the most recent and authentic surveys showing a practicable Route for the great Atlantic & Pacific Rail-Road through the Sierra Nevada at Fredonyers Pass with a faithful delineation of the Course of Rivers, Mountains, Ranges & location of Cities Towns Roads Mines etc.
June 9	Emmert, Paul A Panoramic view of the city of Honolulu. Oahu. Sandwich Islands, with its public buildings principle mercantile Houses & private residences. (Lithograph engraving.)
June 9	Bonestell & Williston California Characters, by Whittlestick, and Mining Scenes, and Sketches, by an old Miner.
June 20	Douglas, I. W. California Vaquero Scene (Wood cut engraving.)
July 18	Bochsa, Nicholas Charles Anna Bishop's Operatic Library. Der Freischutz or The Seven Bullets.' Grand Romantic Opera. In three Acts. The Music by Carl Maria von Weber, Translated from the original German into English and performed for the first time in California at the Metropolitan Theatre, San Francisco.
Aug. 22	Hutchings, James M. Hutchings, California Scenes. The Mammoth Tree. (Wood engravings.)
Aug. 25	Hittell, John S[hertzer] The evidences against Christianity, or Dare you look on the other Side?
Aug. 25	*Hittell, John S. Werther and Preciosa, Translations from the German of Goethe and the Spanish of Cervantes.
Sept. 20	Stone, John A. Put's original California Songster. The Land of Gold. Original Songs as sung by the Sierra Nevada Rangers, with unbounded applause throughout the State.
Sept. 21	Bochsa, Nicholas Charles Anna Bishop's Operatic Library—Judith, a grand opera spectacle in six tableaux, Dramatized and the music selected from Verdi's celebrated Sacred Operas, Nabucco, I Lombardi, Joan of Arc etc.
Oct. 20	Barber & Baker Miners Life. (Lithograph engraving.)
Oct. 26	*Young, J[acob] C. Pocket AEsculapius or Medical Companion, being observations on Manhood in its premature decline, embracing critical and practical treatises on venereal diseases impotency and sterility, The proper study of Mankind is Man.
Nov. 25	Murray, John Frederick Alexander Wood cut or stamp with the likeness of John Frederick Alex. Murray and the word Murray imprinted above and "Venerial Prophylactic" below.

Dec. 4	Barber & Baker San Francisco. Past and present. San Francisco as it was 1849. San Francisco as it is 1854. (Wood cut.)
Dec. 8	Courner, I. W. [J. W. Conner?] Daily Alta California. (Daily newspaper.)
Dec. 16	McDonald & Levy Manzanita. Compound Fluid Extract. (Label.)
Dec. 18	*Benham, John M. The Golden Cloud–or the True Gospel Way.
Dec. 23	Baker, George H[olbrook] Map of the Mining Region of California, 1854. (Lithographic map.)
Dec. 29	Wood, John Henry Italian Cough Remedy. (Label.)
1855 Jan. 10	*Duncan, David The Miner's Guide Book, being an essay on Geology as relates to Gold Mining.
Feb. 20	Little & Co. Dr. Devine's compound Pitch Lozenge–for the cure of Coughs Colds and Bronchial Affections. (Label.)
March 10	*Clark, John Goddard, and Yount, George C. A Narrative of the life and adventures of George C. Yount, comprising much of the early history of California and a graphic detail of the scenes and privations of a border life. By his friend Orange Clark.
March 27	Hepburn, H. P. Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of The State of California in the year 1853.
May 23	Ryan, R. F. The Cosmopolitan. (Weekly newspaper.)
June 14	Hutchings, James M. Hutching's California Scenes–Methods of Mining. (Wood cut engraving.)
July 5	Horn, George Horn's Examiner into the Laws of nature.
July 10	*Lecount & Strong Corporation Manual of the City of San Francisco, containing the new City Charters, approved May 5th, 1855, with an alphabetical Analysis by J. R. West.
Aug. 1	Plecker, D. A. A Correct view of the Mammouth Tree Grove. (Lithograph engraving.)
Aug. 1	Kibbe, William C. The Volunteer containing exercises and movements of Infantry, Light Infantry, Riflemen and Cavalry compiled from the most approved works and dedicated to the volunteers of California.
Sept. 6	Wheeler, Alfred Wheeler's Topographical Map of San Francisco County. Surveyed by Vitus Wackenreuder for Alfred Wheeler.

Sept. 8	Hutchings, James M. Hutchings Panoramic Scenes in California. The Yo-Hamite Falls, Situated in the Yo-Hamite Valley near the source of the Middle Fork of the River Merced, Mariposa County, California.
Oct. 6	Walbridge, D. S. [Dunstan S. Walbridge] Fifty Vara Lot No……Within the Block bounded by …… and …… streets. (Lithograph engraving.)
Nov. 7	Craine, J. V. The Conspirators Victim, or the life and adventures of J. V. Craine, who was hung at Coloma Cala. October 26th, 1855. Written by himself in prison.
Nov. 15	Kuchel and Dresel Stockton. (Stone cut engraving.)
Nov. 28	Ayres, T[homas] A. The Mammoth Tree Grove. (Stone cut engraving.)
Nov. 30	Scott, W[illiam] A[nderson] The Wedge of Gold, or Achan in El Dorado.
Dec. 1	*Baer, Warren The Californian's Return.
Dec. 24	Hittell, John S. The Evidences against Christianity.
Dec. 31	Kuchel & Dresel Mokelumne Hill, Calaveras County. (Stone cut engraving.)
1856 Jan. 17	Moise, Henry The California Fireman's Certificate. Frame Dedicated to the fire departments of California. (Sketch.)
Jan. 19	Baer, Warren The Duke of Sacramento
Jan. 30	McKorkell W[illiam] Gentle Mary Hand, Ballad written by Frank Soule, Esq. composed by W. McKorkell. (Musical composition.)
Feb. 14	Davis & Ray Placerville, Eldorado County. (Stone cut engraving.)
Feb. 19	Hepburn, H. P. Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California in the year 1854.
March 15	Kuchel & Dresel Nevada, 1856. (Stone cut engraving.)
April 2	Crane, James M. The past, The present and the future of the Pacific.
April 19	Delano, A[lonzo] Old Block's Sketch-Book or Tales of California life.
April 29	Massett, Stephen C. Clear the way, or Song of the Wagon road. (Musical composition.)
May 19	*Capp, C[harles] S. Life, West of "the West" or California Sketches illustrating Camp Life in the Mines.

May 20	*Sabatt, Henry J. The Practice act of California, entitled an act to regulate proceedings in the civil cases in the Courts of Justice in this State as passed April 29, and amended May 18, 1853, May 18, 1854, April 28, May 4 and May 7, 1855, with notes, appendix and index.
May 29	Hittell, John S. The evidences against Christianity, Revised, corrected and enlarged.
May 29	Hutchings, James M. James King of William. The Patriot Martyr of California. Editor of the San Francisco Evening Bulletin who was murderously assassinated by James P. Casey, May 14th, 1856. Portrait of Mr. King after death, Showing the entrance and exit of the fatal ball. (Wood engraving.)
June 5	*Taylor, E. A. The California Register and Statistical Reporter.
June 23	Chinquopin George Denny or Sketches of life in the far West by Chinquopin.
July 11	*Spangenberg, E. M. A trip to Australia or Lola Montez on the Fanny Major, A local Drama in Two Acts.
Aug. 6	Nahl, Charles and Lang, C. E. Committee of Vigilance of San Francisco. Reorganized 15th May 1856 for the mutual protection of life & property. In the name of the people. This is to certify that (blank) (blank), No. (blank) is a member of the Committee of Vigilance of the City of San Francisco. (Lithographic design.)
Aug. 18	Case, Charles S. Trial of David S. Terry. By the Committee of Vigilance, San Francisco.
Sept. 18	Crocker, E[dwin] B. California Digest, being a digest of Decisions of the Supreme Court of the state of California.
Oct. 8	*Udell, J[oseph] H. The History of the Committee of Vigilance of 1856. together with the causes that produced it, illustrated with a full and complete narrative of everything which transpired during that eventful period.
Oct. 28	Roman, Anton Shasta, 1856. Shasta County, California. (Stone cut engraving.)
Oct. 28	Fagg & Feast Weaverville. 1856. Trinity County, California. (Stone cut engraving.)
Nov. 6	Carroll, W. Dr. Scott. The Vigilance Committee and the Church. A Lecture by W. Carroll. Delivered in Musical Hall San Francisco, October 12th, 1856.
Nov. 11	Oakes, W[illiam] H. He fell at his post doing duty. Words by Caxton, written on the death of James King of William. Music composed by R. Herold. (Musical composition.)
Nov. 13	Roman, A[nton] Yreka. 1856. Siskiyou County, Cal. (Stone cut engraving.)

Dec. 3	*Hubbard, Lorenzo, M.D. Rise and Progress of the Committee of Vigilance,
Dec. 15	*Shannon & Armstrong The Editorial writings of James King of Wm., Late Editor of the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, With a preface etc.
Dec. 20	Wheat, M[arvin] Travels on the Western Slope of the Mexican Cordillera in form of Fifty-one letters descriptive of much of the portion of the Republic of Mexico, of some of its chief cities and towns of the constitutional aspect and topographical features of that region and of its productions and capabilities embracing its commerce, agriculture, industry, mineral & forest resources, as well as manners and customs of the people.
Dec. 24	Crocker, E. B. California Digest, being a Digest of Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of California.

NOTES

1. Copyright Record Book, United States District Court for the Northern District of California (original MS in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., stored during the war; copy in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

2. Roberts, Martin A., *Records in the Copyright Office Deposited by the United States District Courts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939).

3. Solberg, Thorvald, *Copyright Enactments, 1783-1900,* U. S. Library of Congress, Copyright Office, Bulletin No. 3, 1900.

4. 2 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1799-1813), 171-72.

5. 4 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1824-35), 436-39.

6. 9 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1845-51), 106.

7. 11 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1855-59), 380-81.

8. 13 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1864-65), 540-41.

9. 16 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1869-71), 212-15.

10. 9 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1845-51), 521-22.

11. See George Cosgrave, "James McHall Jones, the Judge That Never Presided," in this Quarterly, XX (June 1941), 97-116.

12. 14 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1865-67), 300.

13. 24 *U. S. Stat. at L.* (1885-87), 308.

14. Verbal statement by Carl W. Calbreath, deputy clerk, October 14, 1942.

15. Historical Society of Southern California *Quarterly,* XIX (1937), 63-94; XX (1938), 60-83, 93-118.

16. Cowan, Robert E., *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930* (San Francisco: Printed by John Henry Nash, 1933).

17. Wagner, Henry Raup, *The Plains and the Rockies Revised and Extended by Charles L. Camp* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1937).

18. Camp, Charles L., "Chronicles of George C. Yount," in this Quarterly, II (April 1923), 3-66.

19. The list is printed, by permission, from the original Copyright Record Book in the Library of Congress.

A Doctor Comes to California

The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-47

Edited by George Walcott Ames, Jr.

(Concluded)

14th—This has been a most disagreeable day, raining constantly. About 12 M. Fremont with his forces made their appearance, some mounted on sorry looking animals, and some on fine fat horses—The men all armed with the Rifle, and a fine looking set of fellows they were—stout and healthy, they had several pieces of Artillery, and among the rest, we saw the howitzer we lost at San Pascual— the only regret I had in seeing this was that the Enemy should have delivered it up, before we had an opportunity of taking it, or some other piece from the Mexicans; a treaty or state of truce no doubt now exists between the enemy and our forces. We took the wind out of Fremonts sails by capturing the Puebla—and whipping the enemy on the 8th & 9th, but he has shown himself the better politician by negociating first with the enemy— What the terms of the treaty may be—has not yet been divulged—but report says, that the stipulations are 1st that the Californians shall lay down their arms and retire to their occupations, and that all passed offences will be forgiven, and they will enjoy all the rights of American citizens[104] This is certainly most favourable terms for the Californians, considering the great force we now have against them—at the lowest estimate some 1100 men —and they cannot raise over five hundred, with their Artillery in such a state that it could be captured the very first time we got in action with them, Lt McLean of the Navy, commanding Fremonts artillery, Major Redding Paymaster,[105] & Col Russell were the negociators on our side. Picot was the head of the California Commissioners. This treaty, truce or whatever it may be is as I understand negociated without the knowledge of Commodore Stockton or Genl Kearny. The fact is, it is said that the Californians would not have negociated with Stockton on any terms, in consequence of the proclamation he sent them from the Mission of St. John's[106]—[Here the paper is torn.] he sent by, the commissioners to Flores who met us below the Mission—The junior officers have opinions of their own, and like all Americans will express them. They are decidedly opposed to the treaty and the terms granted to the Californians as not a man among them believes it will be observed on the part of the Californians with good faith, the only thing that can be said to justify their superiors, is that they are anxious to send a despatch home, to inform our government that California is now ours, so soon as the Forces are withdrawn, which they must be from the nature of things in a short time, being composed chiefly of sailors & Volunteers for 3 & six months–there being only one company of regular troops in the concern– The people will rise again, and we will have the same scenes enacted over again, it is reported however that Cook is at Warners pass– here we have some six hundred men who can be kept in service a short time then the New york regiment may arrive in the mean time. Two of our vaccaroes got into a fight today–one attempted to run the other through. he with the lance, got a pistol shot in the breast, right side, between the 7th & 8th ribs, the ball ranging downwards and backwards & came out about 3½ inches to the right of the spine– When the fellow came in [the] hospital his pulse was extremely feeble–& perspiration on his forehead, he was in a very depressed state, simple dressing applied to the wound with a roller & a little Brandy & Tinct opii[107] given, about 4 P M he had a passage from his bowels and passed about a quart of blood– at ten P.M, I examined him his pulse was good– breathing easy, and his surface [Paper torn.] the rest of the wounded are doing well, suppuration in most of the wounds has been established and in one or two the sloughs begin to come away and granulations to form.

As our fighting is all over it is well as one thinks of the scenes previous to the fight and during the action to note them down. On the morning of the 8th I accompanied the old Genl around to every division of the force on the field. The old fellow I believe had been informed that we would certainly have a fight that day. He appeared in fine spirits, and was particularly gay– he made a short speech to each corps as he passed, he did not fail to remind the men of the day, that it was the 8th of Jany–and that we had a right on that day to flog any thing that we might come in contact with–that after the fight that the Jack tars would have a good long yarn to spin to each other on the subject–and that then we would have a good fat bullock for our supper. Jack got the fight, as promised, licked the enemy–had an opportunity of spining a short yarn by the camp fire–but swore that the beef was not what had been promised–our Commissary seemed to have a desire to reserve the fat ones for some special purpose– We heard today that Genl. [Zachary] Taylor was at [blank] & that Santa Anna was at San Luis Potosi determined to give battle, that the Americans had taken Tampico, and that a large reinforcement was marching by that place to join Genl Taylor–that our army was exclusive of the reinforcement some 25,000 or 30,000 men; and that the Mexican force was about the same. The Californians had hung out in hopes of obtaining aid from Mexico, but when they were told of what had taken place they gave up all ideas of assistance– They declared that they had but two men killed–& 12 wounded, and 18 horses killed in the two actions, and what is singular, all of their wounded are officers. This report is not believed by us, they treat their soldiery with great brutallity–and hide them away when wounded–this we know, as we found six wounded men at the Mission of San John's, badly hurt, who had been shot in the action of San Pascual and Picot—declared he had no wounded. We heard when we arrived here—that they brought to this place 12 wounded, & 2 dead, these were probably persons of some property.

15 Jany. Everything in town going on, in the most quiet, and orderly manner, one would not suppose that there was in town more than the ordinary staid and quiet citizens, instead of over 1000 devil may care Jack tars and back woodsmen with thousands of gallons of liquor, to be had for the searching—not an outrage of any magnitude has been committed, nor half the disorder that would have been on any public day in the states— the terms of the treaty still remain enveloped in mystery and what will be our future course no one knows, nor do they seem to know, whether peace or war actually exists, such an uncertain state of affairs to say the least is very disagreeable to the uninitiated— Picot and several of the Mexican leaders have been in town nearly all day. Many believe that Picot is an honorable man and can be trusted, many believe that all of them are a pack of scoundrels, that fear alone can controle and that now they are only brought [to] terms by abject fear, and that the very first chance they get will turn against us. I heard that the leaders were in conference with the commodore. It is reported outside, that Flores has run off for Sonora, with one hundred men, 21 [?] pieces of artillery, and four hundred horses—Others say that he has burnt the gun carriages and cashed the guns. None of these stories are believed by us outside barbarians, except that Flores may have run off, and stolen 400 horses. I have not seen Picot yet—but any way a despatch goes to the U.S. tomorrow— I understood that Col Fremont had told the Californians to disperse, and then deliver up their arms I wonder why they could not have been made to march in and deliver up their arms in a body, it would seem that it was a much more convenient way of obtaining them—and much more certain also. —My wounded still continue [to] improve—nothing like violent inflammation in any of the cases—Childs I look upon as being in the most critical situation, and at this present time I cannot discover a single bad symptom, the Indian who was shot yesterday, is in a very bad condition, his breathing is laborious—& quick, his pulse weak, and as far as I can comprehend him, he labours from excessive pain over the chest and abdomen. The man who shot himself, McNealy of C Company, 1st Drags, at the camp of the Alcytos is rapidly recovering. Two deserters have been found in Fremonts ranks, these men ran off from their companies G & F 1st Dragoons—at Fort Leavenworth last spring, one stole a fine horse belonging to Uncle Sam, the other stole nothing,— I forgot to mention that Dr. Henderson[108] thinks he discovered bilious matter oosing out of the wound on the Indians back—when the ball came out, judges that it was bile by the color & taste—It was discharged in considerable quantities—It is said in town that the Californians are in arms to the north, in Fremonts rear, that they threaten to attack Monterey. This of

course will continue to be the case, until a sufficient military force is sent to occupy the country—and harsh measures are taken by our commanding officers.

Some artist among the Californians, drew a picture of the action of the 9th—which represented us in square, three deep, and our cattle & baggage in the centre. Under it was written "The infernal Yankee Coral"— They came into town after the fight, and said they would have broken our square when they charged, but that we stretched ropes or chains around us, using the Jack tars, as posts. This of course was an absurd story—but at the same time, I think is a great compliment to Jack—as it shows how steadily he met the charge. It is reported today that they acknowledge 70 killed & wounded in the two actions.[109]

16th Quietness and peace still reigns over the city of the angels, except a little drunkenness, nothing going on, the Jack tars begin to talk about their ships again, and going home. I understand from the officers that the time for which, many of them shipped has long since expired, yet they remain doing duty—and that too of a sort, that they are unaccustomed to, and moreover it is hard service for they have to dig and labour, at the fort on the hill—and yet Jack does not grumble very much— some of the volunteers absolutely refused to work at the fort. I wonder who the patriots are in this case— Many of the Men who came with Fremont only enlisted for 3 months, their time has expired and in some instances I understand for several weeks. They have done their duty cheerfully, I understand—yet from all accounts there was some discont[ent] shown to day. This I think goes to show the policy of making the treaty we did with the Californians, so long as the men had an enemy before them they thought of nothing but whipping him—now he has disappeared. No one as yet knows exactly how. All hands begin to get impatient—and in a short time our forces must be scattered, and then the enemy will have the country again—for what confidence can be placed in men—who have broken their honor, and their commander Picot has twice done so.— The terms of the treaty have not been made public—but the delivery of arms it is understood was a sine qua non—yet they come in slowly—another cannon given up to day, they yet have two with them. Picot and his chief men have been in town all day, in close conference with Col Fremont, and consultations seems going on among all of our big guns—what may be in the wind I know not— I understand that the Genl. had sent or was sending an express, to see if there was any truth in the report of the arrival of Capt Cook at Warners Pass.

A ship of war is said to be at San Pedro. Mr. Thompson U.S.N. was despatched this evening to communicate with her.[110] Lt Gray, of the Navy, started as bearer of despatches for the U.S. this morning. One of Capt Fremonts captains, Jacob, accompanyed Mr Gray.[111]

Child complained of more pain this evening than usual, I discovered a little fluctuation this morning just below the internal Maleolus [Malleolus]—the discharge from the wound is bloody and extremely foetid. The Sloughs from Copes wound has come away, and the surface is clean and filling up with fine healthy granulations— The Indian who was shot a few days since died this morning—I was sent for and went immediately to the hospital ward. There I found a priest—who I suppose had come to give the poor fellow a safe conduct to the next world. The padre had a little silver vessel around his neck—the contents of which he seemed anxious to put upon the dying man. The virtues of the remedy seemed to depend entirely, upon there being a spark of life remaining—if the vital spark were extinct—the powers of the fluid seemed to be nul—he therefore wished my opinion as [to] whether there was not a spark remaining; I did not at first understand what the padre wished. I therefore examined the man and told him it was no use—the man was dead. This seemed to give great distress to those around—who I judged were relations, as they seemed to be firmly convinced that the padre could have absolved the poor fellow from all sins, by the miraculous virtues of the fluid. The man who committed the murder was placed in double irons and under guard— A heavy snow fell last night on the mountains, yet in the day it is pleasant down here in the valley—everything is green, and presents the appearance of Spring—the contrast between winter and spring is very great—and quite agreeable—the nights are rather cool—and none or very few of the houses have fire places in them.

17th Jany: This has been a most beautiful clear day. I wish I could say it was the same in our political affairs, but they seem to be in the greatest state of confusion. This morning report says, that Commodore Stockton commenced organizing a civil government, his first act was to appoint Col Fremont governor, to this Genl Kearny is said to have objected, as the President had sent him to this country as governor, and with powers to organize a government for the country, the General did not object to the man, as I have frequently heard officers say that Genl K had said if Col. Fremont, would accept the appointment he should have it— to the General's communication the only reply the Commodore gave was an order suspending Kearny from all command.[112] Previous to this the General had given Fremont orders to make a report of the State of his command, and several other orders, the nature of which I do not recollect, all of which the Col utterly refused to obey, or disregarded. In the opinion of some Fremont's conduct has laid him liable to the charge of mutiny—at all events I think no other Lt Col. in the service would have paid so little attention to the orders of his commanding officer— As I predicted the whole force now assembled here will vanish, and we will have another revolution in the country in less than two months, tomorrow Genl. Kearny marches to San Diego, with what is left of his Dragoons, all told I do not believe we can muster over fifty men. On Wednesday it is said the Commodore marches with all of the naval force for San Pedro, leaving Fremont, with what will remain of his battalion. They are to be reorganized, and Gillespie [is] to act as Major. Mr McLean is to act as Major of Artillery—

I think our march on San Diego, in the present state of affairs is a mere fact of so many persons thrown out to be murdered, for our enemy is not conquered—They have not complyed with the treaty entered in with Fremont, their arms have not been delivered up—we found by accident the remainder of their cannon, loaded and mounted, and I have no doubt unless the military force expected here from the U.S. quickly arrives that a revolution will take place in a few months—and if it does every bit of it is to be attributed to Fremonts thirst for glory, and Stockton's—I wont say what—but I only wish I could marry a Senators daughter; I might then set at defiance the orders of my superiors and do as I pleased. Of course as affairs are now Kearny has no forces at his command, and must submit— I do no like the march—for setting all danger aside, and I regard the chance of attack as being at least two to one in favour of it—I have had enough of march without any particular object— When we arrive at San Diego, I do not see that we have bettered our condition, and what is to become of us I know not. The vessel seen at San Pedro proved to be the Stonington, from San Diego—with provisions &c. She brought no news, nothing had been heard of Cooks arrival, so I suppose the report was false. The forces of the Enemy seems to have vanished no one knows, where or how, nor is there apparently any great attention paid to it—Arms I understand have not been given up in any numbers, and no one seems to care a damned. This [thus] it is to have men of doubtful positions—and command in camp— Gen^l Kearny has been most outragiously used both by Fremont and Stockton, they are both men of political influence, and of course they will go scot free and in all probability throw the whole blame on Kearny—and succeed in doing it too—[113]

Jany- 18th We left the puebla this morning, that is to say the General, Capts Turner, Emory, Lt. Davidson, myself and some forty five or fifty non commissioned officers and privates—of C. Company, 1st Dragoons. Our hearts were heavy and forebodings of misfortune not wanting, I believe that all of us are opposed to the movement except the General and Turner—As to myself I fully confess that it is nothing but my sense of duty as an officer that compels me to take the trip—A great majority of the men have as good as no shoes—some none atal—already they begin to complain of sore feet— a falling house it is said, will be deserted by the rats—so with us—Some of the servants refused to accompany the officers—upon whom they had been in attendance. Commodore Stockton said that he did not consider that peace was made with these people until they complyed with the terms of their treaty—that it had rendered up their arms. this they have not done—nor do they evince any disposition so far as I have heard—of doing so. They do not carry themselves as a people conquered or even overpowered—On the contrary they boast of having compelled us to make terms, and there is not an American who had been a resident in the country but expects another revolution—and yet we are exposed with this small force to be cut off—when a few days since it was not considered safe for a man to move without an army at his heels— I never in all my life undertook an expedition with so much reluctance, I feel as if misfortune was before me. I hope my forebodings may be without foundation—and when we arrive at San Diego, I do not see that we have bettered our condition. We have encamped on a tributary of the San Gabriel—below the point where the battle took place some four or five miles.

Jany 19th We left camp early. Considering that we are new hands at infantry the men march well. We crossed the Santa Anna river some miles below the town, and encamped on a Ranch near the bank of the stream—On the plain some distance from the river we met a couple of young Californians. They approached us with great caution, and showed any thing but confidence in our friendship They professed utter ignorance of any treaty; and were by no means certain in their own minds that peace did actually exist— We asked them if they would sell us horses—and a beef—to this they replied that they did not know that they were at liberty to do so —When we arrived at the camp—near the ranch—the owner was badly frightened—and from his maner I have now [no] doubt expected to be plundered. In this he was agreeably disappointed, as the officers assured him nothing should be touched that was not paid for—and now I think he begins to believe it—We got a bullock—and now seem on quite friendly terms—the hospitallity however is evidently forced—the country passed over, was an extensive plain in a great measure I think untillable from the want of water—No timber except on the stream and that Sycamore— The puebla is the best built town I have seen in the Mexican country—Many of the houses are good —but belong principally to foreigners—and the most of them Americans—the population is about 1000— the vineyards in the vicinity are extensive—and the grounds are beautiful—extensive orchards of pears & peaches—and taking it all in all it must be a very pleasant place— we found it so lived well & had the best of wine—

Jany 20th We are improving in our gait—we travel well and fast, but the men are decidedly tender footed. We heard to day of the arrival of Capt Cooks party, or rather the advance of it—at Warners Ranch. It is said that there are 8 men, with a member of Congress[114] come ahead—and are now at San Diego— It is reported that the Commodore is some eight miles in our rear, and sent an express ahead for us to wait for him— The country seems quiet

21st We camped last night near the Mission of San Johns— About Dark the Commodore and staff came up, and staid all night at the Mission— We left camp early, and after passing San Matteo the Commodore passed us—

We went ahead—and did nothing more than a passing salute. Mr Hall & Le Roux[115] joined us—they were sent ahead by Capt Cook—who they left at the Pimas villages, he had got along finely—and took a town in Sonoro[116]—he had fifteen wagons with him, when he was left at the Pimas— The men get along with difficulty—their feet being very sore—We have encamped this evening at Los [Las] Flores—in sight of the ocean—whose roar we can hear—

22^d^ Jany—We left camp early; marched hard—passed the Mission of San Louis Rey, when we saw the Commodores party at a distance—and encamped at a place called bitter water—this is well named— We marched some 18 or 20 miles to day—

23^d^ Jany to 3^d^ Febry. On the 23^d^ we left our camp at the bitter water, and marched out hoping to get to San Diego— it threatened rain—and as we had no tents pushed out accordingly. We arrived late in the evening at San Diego in a heavy storm of rain— We found everything had gone on quietly during our absence. No enemy appeared.—I found Streeter still alive—but extremely emaciated. The abcess on the back & side had returned, and discharged greatly. At first the discharge was extremely foetid, and mixed with air—his respiration much affected—When I returned, he was evidently improving—the discharge continuing, but of a more healthy appearance—his appetite good, night sweats, and hectic—The wound on the Sacrum had improved vastly—it had assumed a healthy appearance—granulations having filled up the cavity, with the exception of a small point on the right side—Carious pieces of bone had been discharged—and still continues to be—small pieces presenting themselves at every dressing—This discharge is not very great and is healthy—at present the Dressings to the sacrum are Solut nit argent, & Ung Resens. With a bandage—to the abscess nothing but cleanliness—No medicine given except Sul morphia & Acid Sul aromat[117]—at night and Wine or Brandy ad lib—with nourishing diet— his appetite now is good, little or no hectic—and very little night sweat—until yesterday he had no passage from his bowels for two weeks, an enema had been given but produced no effect—yesterday it was repeated and produced a slight effect. the retention of the faeces had produced no ill effects—his appetite is good, digestion good and respiration easy—no inconvenience in breathing from lying on back or either side. Child is about the same as when I left him at the Puebla—he was brought from that place on a ship—and came into Hospital on the 27th of Jany— the discharge is not healthy from the wound—being thin and rather foetid, there is a slight swelling of the ankle, and some pain and swelling, about each Malleolus—I think a slight fluctuation upon careful examination—he can move the Ankle joint and complains of little or no pain—With the probe hard substances can be detected which I think, are pieces of bone—he felt something move yesterday as if it were a piece of bone on the ball—his general health is good—appetite good, bowels regular—poultices & cold to the ankle has been the only dressing up to this time, McNealy—has nearly recovered—

Brown has anchylosis of the left arm, at the Elbow joint—and Crabb of the right Elbow and loss of power of movement, and numbness of the index finger of the right hand—the wounds have all healed—Osbornes [James A. Osbourne's] neck has got straight—and [John? or Amasa?] Palmer—has numbness and some pain about the right hip from his wound—

Col Cook arrived with his battalion of Mormons at the Mission of San Diego—Jany 29—1847— Gen^l Kearny, with Capt Turner and Lt Warner sailed for the north—on the Sloop Cyane on the 31st of Jany— We are all getting along here very agreeably. Cook has marched with his men to the Mission of San Luis Rey—where he will remain— I am now in charge of Hospital with our wounded it not being considered safe to remove Streeter—The Sloop Portsmouth sails to day for the coast of Mexico— Emory went as bearer of despatches from General Kearny—to the US—via Panama—in the brig *Maleckadel* [Malek Adhel][118]

27th Febry. I still remain at San Diego—in charge of the Hospital—having only two sick dragoons Streeter and Child— Streeter has continued to improve—not rapidly however—his strength is much increased—appetite good—and not so much emaciated— the wound on the sacrum presents a healthy aspect—but does not heal fast in consequence of his being obliged to lay on his back— occasionelly—particularly when he has a passage—after being constipated for several days—he suffers greatly from twitchings in and around the wound—for the last few days the surface of the sore has been smooth, and no speculae of bone presented— The abcess in the side and back continues to discharge freely—an old cicatrix—near the spine—opened—and discharged freely—a few days since— his breathing is not affected—in whatever position he may assume, there are two or three little gatherings under the arm in the axilla—presenting much the appearance of bladders—these do not pain but have to be carefully washed, as they are apt to excoriate—the Sacrum & hip both excoriated—curing under the effects of Emplast Saponis[119]— to procure sleep it is still necessary to continue the Morphine and Acid Aromat— his diet is of the most nourishing quality & he has brandy, wine, & milk punch ad lib, Dressings to sacrum slightly stimulating—band[a]ge—cleanliness alone to abscess— Child upon the whole is better—The wound has closed—it discharged several pieces of bone from the heel—and some small pieces could be felt when the wound closed—The inflamed part is entirely confined around the internal Malleolus—two small abcesses have burst just below this point—and two days since I made free incisions near this point—but nothing of the ball could be discovered—the pain and inflammation is entirely confined to a small place around the internal Malleolus No appearance of swelling or pain at any other point— he cant move his ankle without causing pain—and hobbles about on his crutch— A man by name [Eugene] Russell—a Volunteer has been in hospital for two weeks—with Typhoid Fever—he had been sick for some time previous to being admitted. When he was admitted his pulse slow—skin cool—tongue dry and glossy—Mind much affected—not being able to fix his attention at any time upon any subject. When questioned answered slowly and frequently not to the purpose—deaf—picking at bed clothes &c— his treatment Cal[omel]—purgatives—Wine—Quinine—blistering &c&c—cups to Spine—& abdomen & shaving head, his gums touched with mercury— on the 24th he had low muttering delirium passing urine & faeces unconsciously in which state he is at present—his gums have been touched with mercury but I do not see that it has done any good. This fever I should judge was common to the country as it is the fourth case I have seen of it.

As to public affairs we know little or nothing— The Sloop Dale passed by here some time since—on her way to Panama, by this vessel we learned of the arrival of Commodore Shubrick in the Independance—at Monterey—and also of the arrival of the Lexington, with the artillery from the U.S. That Commodore Biddle in the line of battle Ship Columbus would soon be here[120]— We have also had a visit from the Secretary of State, Col Russell[121] —who arrived at this place from the Puebla—on the 22d of February—he was received on the Congress with a salute of five guns— from this gentleman we learned that all was peace and quietness about the puebla—that the Californians were well contented— The Col had with him a Californian—named *Boneea* (I believe) [José Mariano Bonilla?] this man was appointed a Captain by Fremont—he is said to be a fellow of notorious bad character—a gambler and the very first man who entered into the last revolution— two Californian gentlemen, who have been our friends since we landed here—who have contributed as much as any men in the country to the success of our flag—and had been appointed captains by Commodore Stockton, offered their resignations upon hearing of the appointment of this fellow Boneea, one of the above mentioned persons Don San Iego, offered to resign.[122] Don Miguel Pedreorano[123]—did not offer to resign, but informed me that he would do so if thrown in contact with Boneea. The Secretary of State [Colonel Russell] entered into conversations with the different officers freely and seemed to me to be very anxious to get their opinions as regards Fremonts controversy with Genl Kearny— The Col & myself had quite a hot discussion entering unpremeditated on my part but the whole tenor of his conversation seemed to invite argument and discussion— from this discussion I learned that Fremonts commission as Governor had been dated back to November 1846— Now I know from having heard Commodore Stockton so style himself—particularly on the occasion when the Flag of truce was received from Flores, near San Matteo—that he (Stockton) regarded himself as the Governor and Commander in chief of California—and

I believe every officer so understood it—and moreover he was so regarded up to the day previous to Gen^{l} K's leaving the puebla.

About the 20th of this month Beale & Carson left for the U.S. via the Gila route and Santa Fe—they carryd despatches and a minister extraordinary from Fremont— from this place Russell sent a courrier to Carson, who had orders to remain at Warners pass until he received further instructions from Fremont, Engineering is a great trade—all of our big guns are by the ears—and how the war [?] will terminate we shall see— Major Swords arrived from the Islands (Sandwich) on Feby [19]—he brought some provisions, but no money, for this article we are all suffering much— When we shall get away the lord knows—as neither the paymaster or Quarter master have one cent— On the 22d the Commodore gave an elegant blow out on board of the Congress. The decorations were the flags of different nations, and the deck of the ship made decidedly the finest ball room I ever saw. We had all the ladies from San Diego, and everything went off in fine style—We have a little dance every evening at Señor [Juan] Bandini's, and upon the whole our time passes off agreeably— Last night I dreamed that there was another revolution, in my sleep I distinctly saw the Mexican flag—This dream has made a Strong impression on my mind—I do not put faith in dreams—but I thought I would note this—

10th March—The man Russell died of the fever—the Wounded men, Streeter & Child have continued to improve, Journalizing is rather dull work in these piping times of peace— The other day—the Julia arrived from the Puebla, bringing the report of the arrival of the Sloop Erie—at Monterey with a Co^{l} Mason on board[124]—this is supposed to be Co^{l} Mason of the 1st Drags who comes out here it is said to take the command of Stevensons Regiment—Stevenson to be Governor— several papers called the Californian published in Monterey by a chaplain of the navy called [Walter] Colton—were received[125]—These papers contain, what I think will be the commencement of a violent paper war between Kearny and Stockton—the piece referred to is a letter from the Angeles, giving an account of the march on that place and its being taken, by the forces under Commodore Stockton, Kearny is left out of the question entirely—and dirt thrown on his and Mervine's head for the Action of San Pascual & Domingos [Dominguez] Ranch[126]— A report from Gillespie was received, stating that he had been informed in the Puebla by a Californian who was in both actions—that they lost 27—killed and wounded at Pascual and 85 killed & wounded—(55 of whom have since died) at San Gabriel & the Mesa—

The weather has been excessively cold of late. The mountains to the south are covered with snow—and it hailed quite hard—a few days ago.

The influenza prevails at present as an Epidemic— It is attended with considerable fever—it seems to be from accounts very severe about San Luis & the puebla— Up to this time none of the Dragoons have had the disease—

though they are nearly naked—and quite barefooted— The disease seems to be confined almost entirely to natives of the country— I believe I have not recorded here as I intended the honesty of my friends the Pimas Indians—the goods & mules that were left with them by General Kearny for Cooks command were untouched—although they had been advised to take them by the Mexicans—

14th March—We have had two arrivals from the Puebla in the last two days—the first the little French doctor[127]—who had been an assistant Surgeon in the California Battalion— he did not bring much news except that the Governor was extremely polite to all the natives—attended balls of all descriptions and that he was very popular, he said that there had been drank at a ball at that place—a health to the Independance of California—this however was denyed by the second arrival— these were Mr. Dent [?], clerk to Paymaster Cloud[128] and Paymaster Redding [Reading] of the California battalion. The news brought by these gentlemen was very important— first it seems that Fremont has heard that there is a force marching from Sonora—some two thousand strong under the Command of General Castro and Pio Pico— This seems to have some foundation—as Fremont has sent a force to Warners pass of one hundred and seventy five men, and four pieces of Artillery. There seems also to be apprehensions of another rising in the country—the movements of persons who would likely be leaders seems to have attracted attention— The disappearance of large numbers of the best horses in the country—would seem to give farther confirmation to the reports—Major Redding says that a large band of horses have been discovered in the mountains—"cashed"— At this time our men are certainly not in a fit situation to take the field—no blankets—clothing or shoes—it is rather a bad showing for a march— Fremont sent an express to the north—so we will certainly have an arrival in a few days— he spoke of the suffering of an Emigrant party in the mountains—18 of whom attempted to come in—12 men and 6 women—The men all perished—all of the women were brought in on the backs of Indians—they were forced to eat of the bodies of those who were dead—in one case a woman eat part of her brother.[129] The weather has become warmer—but is still disagreeably cold in the shade—the cattarrhal fever that prevailed so extensively begins to abate—this epidemic seems confined to natives of the country or persons who have resided here a long time.

17th March—On the 15th, Lt Halleck of the Engineers arrived from Monterey[130]—he came around Cape Horn with the Artillery— he brought orders from the General—it seems that the Government stood up to the General—and Fremont give up. The troops at San Luis Rey are to garrison that point—the Puebla—and this place One Company—B—of the Mormon Battalion got in to day. Major Swords, Cloud & Lt Halleck left for the north this morning—Lt Stoneman[131] with his detachment of Dragoons also left for the puebla de los Angeles—where the dragoons are to be stationed— Halleck informed us of the arrival of Commodore Biddle in the Columbus—It seems the report of the invasion of the Sonoranians, was all as I thought it would turn out—for Buncombe Fremont I suppose did not wish to go to Monterey, so the report originated and the men were not sent to Warners pass

I believe that the fruit trees about here are in bloom. There are precious few of them, however. I mean of the trees not of the bloom— The wild oats are heading out, but are not more than 6 or 8 inches high— The animals are getting quite fat, but a horse is a most useless animal to a man situated as I am here—if he is kept up for riding he will starve to death—and if he is allowed to run out you will lose him—so I think they are most useless— My sick men continue to improve—Streeter's wounds are healing—but he has a bad cough —which I am fearful will ultimately carry him off—Child is nearly well so far at least as appearances go—

27th Yesterday the Frigate Savanah left this port for the U.S. she had been laying off this harbour for two or three days—last from Monterey—does not bring much news— However a portion of Stevenson's regiment has arrived[132]—and the rest may be expected shortly. Many reports reach here but no great faith should be placed in them. The dispute for the governorship seems to have ceased, although efforts are being made yet to retain Fremont in power. He Fremont seems to have become immensely popular with the Californians, at least one would be led to believe so— A petition, remonstrance or something of the sort was received here—brought by Don San Jego [Santiago Argüello], on the bark Julia from the Puebla. I did not see this paper, but so far as I could learn the purport of it was, a remonstrance against Kearnys taking upon himself the office of governor. This has been circulated at all the towns. This paper created much excitement here— An order was also received by Don San Jeago—directing not to turn over horses —Guns &c to any officer or Corps unless by special order from Fremont or, to an agent of his— Commodore Stockton did not go home on the Savanah—

The health of the place has improved since I last wrote in my journal. The weather has become warm and pleasant—and the influenza has passed off— Among the Mormons I have two cases—one of Dysenteria the other Febris —quite severe Streeter has suffered very much of late—his wounds continue to heal—but his appetite is bad, bowels irregular—Colliquetive sweats —and about the same hour every day suffers greatly from pain. This seems to be over the whole back— Morphia relieves him when he remains comparatively easy for the next twenty-four hours— Child continues about the same—not much improvement—

20th [30th?] March. Journalizing continues to be a most dull and profitless employment. Nothing of private or public interest going on, and take it all in all I am heartily tired of life in San Diego. A mail route from hence to San Francisco, to be carried by soldiers has been established to arrive every 15 days—This goes to show that there has been some improvement. The establisment of the Capital at Monterey seems to give great dissatisfaction to the Californians— We have had many rumors of combats with the Indians, about the Puebla—according to these reports the dragoons have been thrashed, killed &c without doing much injury— We have heard since that all reports are false, with the exception that the Dragoons killed four Indians & took two or 3 prisoners—and one or two Dragoons slightly injured— These reports seem to be originated about the Puebla by some malicious persons for the purpose of annoying—There seems to have been quite an excitement at the puebla, upon the arrival of Cook with his battalion at that place. Capt Owens then in command of the California Battalion refused to deliver up artillery &c as he had reecived orders from Fremont[133]—orders not to give up until he Fremont returned from Monterey— The Captain held out, and quite a sparring match took place—so far as wit and badinage was concerned —and from all I hear the Captain in this contest, got rather the better of Cook. Col Mason arrived and put all things to rights— What has become of the California Battalion—we have not learned—or what course will be taken by Fremont—or what will be done with him seems to be uncertain. We have had a little official correspondence here between Santiego E Arguello, and our Mormon Captain [Jesse D.] Hunter, Fremont had given to Santiego as a Captain in the California Battalion an order, not to deliver up horses, artillery &c &c at this point. This order he signed—not as Lt Co^{l} or Governor, but with his name alone— When called upon by Mason to know whether he had ever given such an order—he denied it— Dr. Sanderson wrote to me by Col Masons request to obtain this order if possible or a copy of it—Cook at the same time ordered Hunter to obtain it—Of course I merely gave my assistance to Hunter—Santiego would not give the order or copy—

The prejudice against the Mormons here seems to be wearing off—it is yet among the Californians a great term of reproach to be called Mormon—yet as they are a quiet, industrious, sober, inoffensive people—they seem to be gradually working their way up— they are extremely industrious—they have been engaged while here in digging wells, plastering houses, and seem anxious and ready to work— The Californians have no great idea of their soldier like quallities and in action would not dread them much—this arises in a great measure from their dress—carriage &c—which is as unlike any soldier—as any thing could possibly be—Yet I think if brought into action they would prove themselves good men—as I am told they are generally fine shots—and they drill—tolerably well— They are barefooted and almost naked—several of them are sick—with Intermittent fever— The day before yesterday a merchantman named the Moscow, arrived in port from the north—no news— She is in a leaky condition—and with difficulty was brought into port—she applied to Commodore Stockton for assistance, and it was at once given— The Commodore had appointed this day for leaving the port—but in consequence of the necessity of giving the Ship assistance it is said he will not go for several days. A Vessel came into port from the North this morning—believed to be the Julia—though not certainly known yet— Streeter has improved rapidly since I last noticed his case—his cough has ceased in a great measure little or no pain on the back—abscess healed up & I believe solid & well Wound on sacrum nearly healed Child has also improved—

23^d^ April—Last night an express arrived from the Puebla de los Angeles—and went aboard the Congress immediately— Report says there is a duel on the tapis between Co^l^ Mason & Fremont—the latter challenged Mason—who accepted. The affair was to have come off at the Puebla but for some cause, was postponed until the arrival of the parties at Monterey; the weapons chosen double barrell shot guns;[134] no other news—

25 April—This evening another express arrived from the Puebla—and went immediately aboard, what the contents of the despatches were I have not learned— a report reached here from the Puebla that 1500 Mexicans were marching on us—and the commanding officer directed to be vigilent—and also that munitions of war had been landed some place or other— from all I can learn from the Puebla there seems to be some doubt whether Fremont ever gave Santiego Arguello the orders—spoken of by me in a letter to Dr Sanderson. S wrote me that when called on by Mason to know whether or not he had issued orders to Santiego, that Fremont denied having done so, as Commander of the California Battalion— The following is a true copy—word for word of the order. Lt Maddox[135] of the Marine Corps has a certified copy—

Cuidad de los Angeles—
18 March 1847.

Sir,

You are hereby ordered to take especial care of all the public arms, & munitions of war including artillery &c &c for which I am liable & turn them over to no Corps without my especial order, or the order of some authorized acting under me.—

Very Respectfully
Yr Obdt Servt
(Signed) J. C. Fremont.

To Capt Don
Santiego Arguello
Calif. Battln.

Cuidad de los Angeles.
18 March 1847.

Sir

You are hereby ordered at your most convenient opportunity and with as little delay as possible to collect all the horses belonging to government—

between this point and San Diego, and keep them subject to my order, or the order emenating from some officer under my orders—

Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt—
(Signed) J. C. FREMONT.

To Capt D
Santiego Arguillo
Calif Battln.

If the above be not orders then I have never seen one. They are not signed officially, but they are directed so—and it would seem that the whole tenor of the order was that a superior, the commander, was giving the most positive instructions to an inferior— It is said the Congress leaves here tomorrow—

27 April. Last night the wife of Captain Hunter died of Typhoid fever—or rather I think a malignant form of Quotidian fever. The attack was issued [ushered] in with severe rigors, some six days ago—with great difficulty of breathing and oppression, followed by high fever. About 11 A M each day the same attack came—with cramps & irregular nervous twitchings—serous diarrhoea—mind affected—purgative of Calomel, Massa ex Hyd &c given until slight ptyalism produced—her breasts became inflamed, and before death suppurated. The nervous twitchings were stopped by the use of small doses of morphia & Assafoetida. The chill checked by Quinine—her brain became very much excited Delirium for two days previous to death—and deafness— She finally died last night about 10 P M in great pain— This was the first American woman who ever bore a child in San Diego—

The Frigate Congress got out of the harbor yesterday. She sails today for the South, if there be any truth in the report of the arrival of a Mexican force to the South. Commodore Stockton proclaimed his intention of fighting them, if there was any chance of success—his object is also to ascertain if there be any truth in the report as to arms having been landed— San Vincente [Vicente] & San Tomassa [Santo Tomás] are said to be the points where they were landed—it is said a French brig brought them there from Acapulco. Stockton made a speech to his men before sailing yesterday—it seems from what he says that if pushed to the last, he will make the pass of San Vincente as renowned as Termopylae [Thermopylae]. Ye Gods what gass—

6th May—So little happens at San Diego, that journalizing is a most dull business, one naturally takes notice of all the reports—and considering the communication we have a plenty of them, on the 28th the Merchant Ship Vandalia, arrived from the north. She created quite an excitement as she is so large and fine a vessel, that she was taken for a Man of War. On the 2d of May, paymaster Cloud arrived and payed the Troops—on the 4th this has created some excitement— and then the Captain of the Mormon Company, arrested a fellow—an Englishman named Johnson, servant to the priest at San Tomassa, as a spy— This man professed to have been aboard of the ship, said to have brought arms— he reported that the Captain had told him there were arms aboard—but he has told so many stories that one does not know what to credit— I think there is little doubt however that arms have been landed—but whether they will be used or not is another question— A man arrived from lower California a few days since—who reported all things were quiet there— he says the Commodore, with Santiego Arguello, Don Miguel [Pedrorena] & twenty men had gone from Santa Vincente to San Tomassa to look for the arms—that no Mexican troops had been heard of— On the 4th a man named Walker arrived from the Aqua Calliente—who reports that the Indians from the Corasita, had come in—reporting that a large body of people were coming in by that route. What they were the Indians did not know— The reports of Mexican troops coming caused the greatest alarm and uneasiness among the residents of this place—they have been extremely friendly to the American cause—in fact the only place in California where natives are really friendly, and if the Mexicans should come and gain only a temporary advantage—they would suffer very much— from the movements of the Californians some faith seems to have been placed, in the reports, and it was believed that mischief of some sort was intended— On the 5th Mr. Norris[136] Secretary to Commodore Stockton arrived via Monterey—from the United States—he came on the Sloop of War Preble from Monterey or Callao— he brings little or no news— The determination on the part of the President [James K. Polk] to prosecute the War with great vigour—and the ready compliance of Congress with his views, seems to be the best— flying reports are said to have reached Monterey that the Castle of San Juan De Ulloa has been taken—and that Taylor has had another fight, in which he was victorious—That Santa Anna has been deposed—and General [Gabriel] Valencia takes his place— Mr. Norris arrived here from San Pedro in the schooner Julia— If an enemy be coming we are not making very extensive preparations to meet him— The Mormons after their payment took a little spree—some few men drunk and two or three black eyes—or small fights occurred—but much less drinking gambling &c occurred among them than I have ever witnessed among any troops after a payment— They are extremely industrious—and avaricious. They get all the pelf they can—and keep all they get. They are constantly employed by the citizens, and one is engaged in constructing a horse mill—This is looked upon in San Diego—as the greatest feat that has been ever undertaken in these parts. We have an Alcalde named Fitch[137]—an old sea Captain—who knows about as much of law as he does of religion— two Yankees got into a law suit the other day—one accused the other of stealing mules, horses &c— The party accused was defended by a Mormon lawyer— The fellow acknowledged several of the charges brought against him—but the Lawyer so confused the judge that he not only found the man guiltless, but ordered the accuser to pay all costs— Therefore the Mormon lawyer and the accused party determined to bring suit against the accuser so that damages might be obtained for slander. When they notified the judge that they wished to bring the suit—he asked who would try the case— You—answered the Mormon lawyer—I'll see you damned first replied the Judge—and what is more if you bother me any more with your damned suits I'll put the whole gang of you to work—and this ended the matter. My patients are all doing well. Streeter begins to walk about—his wounds having healed. The weather is damp and cold and he complains of some pain in consequence. Child is doing well—

11th May. Yesterday the Congress and Julia came in sight About 1 AM this morning several of the officers came up to town—diligent search had been made for the arms &c said to be deposited at San Vincente and San Tomassa—but nothing could be discovered. The Ship had been in the port as had been reported, but no arms seems to have been landed. The Commodore despatched Indians to the Rio Colorado, who brought back word that there was no sign of a Mexican force but that the Indians were taken [waging] a small private war out there on their own account. Lt Rowan U S N & Mr Norris, Commodore Stockton's secretary started from here this morning for Monterey by land—The Congress did not enter the port, but will sail directly for Monterey—where it is said the Commodore will take another ship and sail directly for the U.S. The Thos. H. Perkins a transport ship touched us on the 7th of May—on her way to Manilla— Last night I was so unfortunate as to have a man of the Mormon Battalion to die—Private Albert Dunham of B Company died about 3 A.M. this morning— On the 7th of May after playing ball—and exercising rather freely—he was suddenly seized with violent pains in the back of the neck & head (he had been subject to Rheumatic Attacks) he was brought in Hospital May 8th—The pains were extremely severe in the neck and back of the head, bowels costive, pulse full but not quicker or harder than natural skin natural—was sullen and evinced little disposition to answer question when addressed, ℞ Massa ex Hyd. Ext Colocynth Comp aa x Grs—and apply a stimulating liniment on warm flannel cloths to neck— on the morning of the 9th was some better The medicine had operated freely, and the Liniment and external warmth seemed to give some relief—although the pain was still severe. The pulse and skin seemed little affected, ℞ Sul Mag℥j Tart Ant i Gr. Aqua of M [Several illegible words follow, possibly in shorthand.] wine glass full every half hour till free operations are produced—Continue warm applications— in the evening some salts had operated very freely— The pain still continuing cups no 6 applied to back of neck—At bed time warm applications— ℞ Massa ex Hyd x Grs—Ipecac i Gr, Opii i Gr—& repeat often & Ipecac if he cant sleep—he has not slept any for two nights— 10—in morning was found to be much worse—had rested but little during the night— Inflammation and some discoloration around the right eye—Delirium—tongue not coated nor has it been—℞ ol Ricini ℥j[138]—Apply blister to back of neck— The inflammation of Eye continued to increase rapidly—and the discoloration spread over the temple and part of the forehead, The swelling of the Eye about 2 PM—was enormous and looked as if it would burst—The Tunics much injected, and the pupil apparently perfectly insensible—at least it did not contract or dilate At first an Emolient poultice applied—but could not be retained in consequence of his picking at it—as in fact he was constantly doing at the bed clothing Stimulating Enemas given blisters to Extremities &c—without the slightest effect (when the Inflammation of Eye was first noticed cups applied to the Temple)—At bed time X Grs Calomel given— he rapidly got worse About 3 PM—his Extremities commenced getting cold, his pulse being much depressed—Delirium—breathing with difficulty—and he finally expired about 3 A M this morning— he was comatose several hours before death—and could not be roused sufficiently at any time during the day, so as to give a rational answer to any question. Post Mortem, The Brain was carefuly examined about 10 hours after death The veins of the Dura Mater much distended with blood, the ventricles full of a Bloody serum, and a deposite on the arachnoid resembling coagulable lymph—This could not be removed with a sponge and water—

June 5th 1847. I left San Diego May 13 1847, by order of Lt Col. Cooke—and arrived in the Puebla de los Angeles, in two days and a half. The next day went to duty. Genl Kearny left the day before I arrived—for San Pedro where he would embark on one of the U.S. Vessels for Monterey—from thence he would go to the United States as soon as practicable— I was informed of the *pleasant* news that I might expect to make California my home for some time to come—That is to say if the Californians will allow us to do so—and I think they are great fools if they do—for in a short time our force will be much reduced by the Mormon Battalion being disbanded—and then we leave some points where there is plenty of cannon, San Diego for instance so guarded—that it only invites attack. I found much sickness in the command, and a great disposition on the part of the men of Col Stevensons Regiment to shirk work. They are all engaged in building a fort on the hill and this digging goes decidedly against the Stomachs of these valiant volunteers of the 7th N. Y. R. V. The fact is they are the poorest material for Soldiers I have ever seen—broken down gentlemen, infirm tradesmen &c &c at least it is so with the two Companies E. & G. stationed here.

On the Morning of the 4th of June I was requested to see an old Man at the House of Mr Prior [Nathaniel Miguel Pryor], near this place. The old man had been bitten in several places by a dog on the 23 of March last— All the wounds—(which were very severe) had healed up with the exception of one through the right hand—this had continued to discharge but slightly—occasionally showing disposition to mortification—a little stimulating ointment had been used which generally caused the hand to assume a healthy appearance— The man had been much reduced by the long confinement—though he was still quite corpulent— he had been improving very fast up to the night of the 3rd of June—only complaining of wandering pains—over his body and in the abdomen— This he attributed to Rheumatism—which he had been subject to— during the night he was seized with a desire to drink water—which he found it imposible for him to do in consequence as he described it, of a ball rising in his throat— When I saw him which was about 5½ A M he was sane, but seemed to be in great distress suffering from the want of sleep—he was extremely sleepy, and thirsty—it seemed to produce violent agitation through out his whole system to even look upon water— I urged him to take some water—he attempted it several times—it seemed a violent effort for him to take the cup—when he brought it to his mouth, it seemed to produce the most violent convulsive movements of the muscles of his throat—abdomen and chest—He did take with a great effort a little thin corn meal gruel—This aversion to fluids increased until he could not bear to hear the word water mentioned—The mention of it causing him the most terrible fright and convulsions—he vomited and strained constantly in efforts to vomit—until he ruptured some small blood vessel— his mind about 12 M became flighty but upon speaking he gave a rational answer—his pulse was at each examination gradually weaker and more rapid. The saliva viscid and hard to expectorate— The hand looked as if mortification had taken place to a considerable extent— his eyes blood shot—he gradually grew worse, his mind wandering and confused— A short time before death he became sane—At this time he took a little *attole* [atole]—mixed with 3 V of Tinct opii—it produced no effect— he died about 8 A.M. on the morning of the 5th—

There was no news in the country everything seems quiet—though so far as I can see no particular good feeling among the men—the women seem better contented—

9 July. Since I last wrote, nothing of public importance in the vicinity has taken place, rumors of revolution are constantly afloat, a flagstaff has been erected on the hill, within the Fort. The flag was first hoisted on the 4th July, salutes fired, and the work christened Fort Moor. This ceremony seems to have given our friends the Californians great offence—during the time the staff was being erected various threats were made that it would be burned or cut down and supplanted by a better looking one with the Mexican colors—from the tone of feeling throughout the country, I have no doubt the slightest cause, would light up another revolution, The arrival of a single hundred men from Sonora would produce this effect—particularly at this time as the Mormon Battalion will be discharged in a few days—and Colonel [Henry S.] Burton of the 7th N.Y.R.V. and his companies leave for the South, to occupy

La Paz—a port in lower California; our Company is at Santa Barbara—and our garrisons seem to be scattered about over the country in like force— San Diego an important point will be left entirely without a garrison and the only force in this section of the country will be one Company of Dragoons dismounted, and two companies of N.Y. Volunteers— We have threats made constantly against us—and yet our governors and Commandants by their acts would seem to invite a revolution—by keeping all their force in the north, both army and Navy—On the morning of the 5th of July a most barbarous assassination was committed on a frenchman [Julien Bertalot] by whom the act was committed is not known but suspicion attaches to one of our Dragoons by name [Samuel E.] Cooper—also a Store was Robbed the same night of a large amount of money—This Robbery was no doubt committed by Soldiers of the Volunteer Regiment, and one Dragoon— On the night of the 4th we had a ball given by the officers in honor of the day,[138], and also one by the non commissioned officers—everything went off very pleasantly except one little circumstance. Don Jose Antonio Carrillo thought proper to express his decided disapprobation of the mode of dancing of the American officers—and said they were like all the rest of their nation beasts. The officers hearing of this determined to kick up a small fuss— the Colonel Stevenson hearing of the affair determined to call all hands to his quarters next morning and at supper accordingly invited every body— we assembled the next morning had a speech from the Coronel defining our position &c— One remark he made was not exactly agreed to by the Juniors, that was that an officer receiving an insult from a Californian the affair should be taken notice of by the Authorities—& Vice Versa— This was objected to, as the officers claimed the right of looking out for their own private quarrels— One of the Mormon officers who was more particularly alluded to than the rest had determined to castigate the Don, but the public manner in which the Colonel had noticed it seemed to preclude any course of the kind, and particularly as the persons then and there did take a drink to the said Don José Antonio— Jose Antonio acknowledged the soft impeachment of having called us a parcel of beasts but declared he had no intention of making it public a great deal of gass was expended on the occasion—but the affair was settled—and without some farther provocation, I suppose there will hardly be a fight. Col Burton brought us the news of Genl Scotts two victories of Vera Cruz and Puenta Nacional, a salute was fired in consequence—and notices stuck up at the alcalde's office which were duly cut to pieces and destroyed during the night. Our friends here have no good will toward us, and would if they only dared cut our throats with great pleasure.

There has been considerable sickness of late among the troops stationed here—an Epidemic Catarrh, very obstinate and attended with fever. On the morning of the 4th of July about 2½ A M Hammerly [John Hemerle] of Co C 1st Dragoons died—of Typhoid Fever—He had been a prisoner, and tried by a general court marshal—this seemed to have a great effect on him.

14th of August. As to public affairs we have absolutely nothing going on; our friends the Californians, received via Sonora the Mexican papers—detailing Scott & Taylors movements in Mexico—the taking of Vera Cruz the levying of taxes by old Taylor for the destruction of his baggage train, and the battle of *puente nacional*, seems to have acted as a soporific on their warlike feelings— talk of revolt now is not even heard of—every thing in that way is as quiet as possible—rumors of Indian hostilities seems even to have been forgotten—although I think the Californians have done their best to embroil us with a tribe called the St Luis Indians.—These fellows are however our warm friends. An Agent has been recently appointed, Capt Hunter late of the Mormon Battalion, this I hope will have the effect of quieting all reports— The Colonel leaves here to day for the purpose of holding council with all the Indians at San Luis Rey— Occasionally a rumor gets here from the North of disturbance between the Governors and the American settlers in the North— The ground of the difficulty seems to be the Mission lands, upon which our western men, following their true instinct and old habit have squatted—and are rather inclined to appropriate the lands &c to their own use— this the Governor objects to as the lands are private property, and as usual in such cases much talk—but no blood as yet—

The Company at Santa Barbara seems to have got in rather a disorganized State—and caused a court martial, the result of which was to send four of the number to Monterey in irons This seems to have quieted every thing— At this place every thing is quiet. Our military guard mounting is quite a show. Robbery has become very common of late—Stores, houses, persons riding & picking pockets. No less than five Robberys have taken place lately to considerable amounts—and the murder that occurred about the 4 of July— The worst of it is—there seems to be no means of finding out who are the authors of the crimes—So long as the Alcaldes supposed that it was a Dragoon who committed the murder they were excessively energetic—but the evidence being clear that the man was not guilty—no further prosecution was had in the case—

Sickness has prevailed to great extent both among the troops and the population here among the men—[William] Hopper of Co E died July [blank]. [Thomas] Bosquet Co. E. on 8 of August—[Charles A.] Webster Co E—on the 17th of August—all died—with the same fever:[140] The attack of this disease is not violent—but gradual—preceeded for some time—(in the two last cases it was so) by Diarrhoea, thin yellow, watery discharges—tongue coated, pulse not exhibiting much signs of disease or febrile action— in a few days the symptoms became worse—the tongue becoming black—chapped—and border around the teeth—slight delirium—nervous twitchings kicking at the bed clothes—position on back—and falling down in bed towards the foot— The Diarrhoea usually continues through the disease

When checked, it becomes worse in other cases the tongue has been smooth the edges red—the centre dry & chapped, Post Mortem of two cases has shown that inflammation was present in mucous membrane of Small intestines Stomach—& large intestines—that ulcers had formed in the Duodenum, illieum, and in the Colon, in Webster there were many points of the intestines infected and inflamed as if ulceration were about to commence, The ulcers were large—ragged—and containing in their center a yellow spot— When this yellow substance was removed, the whole mucous and muscular tunics of the intestine seemed to be removed with it—The bowels in both cases contained little but discolored matter— in Webster the gall Bladder full of yellow bile—the liver I do not think was diseased—except it might have been larger than usual—I did not observe that the Spleen was diseased— The pancreas was extremely hard and indurated—the urinary bladder empty and much contracted—Heart and lungs healthy—

The fever seems to take to the remittent form—and keeps to this type through the whole course of the disease—There are many other men who have had the fever—but are now either convalescing or have recovered— I have not remarked that any course of treatment was particularly successful—Sul Quinine does not seem to have as good an effect here as I have observed in the fevers of the U.S—Mercury seems to be the best remedy— The people of the country are not exempt from the fever—among them however so far as I have seen Quinine answers every expectation. The cause of this difference I cannot account for—except it be that the unacclimated Americans—from the change of climate are more subject to Gastric enteric affections—from the heat of the climate, and possibly the dryness—as there has not been rain here since May—diseases of the Bowels such as colic—Diarrhoea, Dysenteria are very common, This I think is no doubt to be attributed to eating fruit—unripe.—The Diet of the Country is almost exclusively fresh meat, Beef—and a coarse Bread—tortillias, &c—made of corn meal or Wheat badly ground— The Diet of the soldiers is 4 times a week Beef— 3 times pork—and Bread of fine American flour— The Bread so far as I have seen is well baked, The men who have died—and had the disease worst— were generally temperate, Stout young men, two of the fatal cases—Hammerly—the Dragoon—and Webster were taken while in the guard House— the first under sentence of general Court Martial for mutinous conduct— the latter arrested for disobedience of orders— Their situation seems [to] have exercised a bad effect on their minds in both cases—and I have no doubt contributed considerably to the fatal termination of their disease— Some time since I extracted a large tumor (in July) from the shoulder of a Californian This tumor must have weighed fifteen pounds— he has recovered rapidly.

NOTES

104. The Articles of Capitulation, signed at the rancho of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, by José Antonio Carrillo, squadron commander; Agustin Olvera, deputy; P. B. Reading, major California Battalion; Louis McLane, commanding Artillery California Battalion; W. H. Russell, staff captain California Battalion; and approved by Andrés Pico, squadron commander and chief of the National forces in California; and J. C. Frémont, lieutenant-colonel U. S. Army and "military commandant of California," were printed in this QUARTERLY, XIII (June 1934), 135-36. They are also to be found in 30th Cong., 2d sess., S. Exec. Doc. No. 31 (1849), and elsewhere.

105. Louis McLane came to California as a midshipman on the *Savannah*. After helping recruit and organize the California Battalion, he became captain of an artillery company, later ranking as major. Pierson B. Reading served as paymaster of the California Battalion with the rank of major.

106. On January 5, at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Commodore Stockton, at the instigation of William Workman, issued a proclamation offering a general amnesty to all Californians except Flores, on condition that he be given up as a prisoner. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 387.

107. Tincture of Opium.

108. Andrew J. Henderson, assistant surgeon of the *Portsmouth*.

109. A consensus of Californian opinion seems to be that three were killed and not many more than fifteen wounded. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 396.

110. William H. Thompson, midshipman on the *Congress* and acting lieutenant of Stockton's battalion.

111. Lieutenant Andrew F. V. Gray was appointed by Stockton, and Lieutenant Emory by Kearny, to carry dispatches to Washington. Gray was accompanied by Richard Taylor Jacob, a captain in the California Battalion. After some delay they sailed in the *Malek Adhel* on January 25, 1847. For the *Malek Adhel* see Note 118.

112. ". . . you will consider yourself suspended from the command of the United States forces in this place." Robert Field Stockton to Stephen Watts Kearny, January 16, 1847, quoted in Thomas C. Lancey's "Cruise of the Dale," San Jose *Pioneer*, January 1, 1881. This order is well known and is printed in many places. It is a good indication of Stockton's attitude toward Kearny throughout the whole controversy. Stockton clearly stepped beyond his authority.

113. This is a clear exposition of the opinion held by most army officers on the coast, of the controversy between Kearny on one side and Stockton and Frémont on the other. There seems to have been no doubt in their minds of the importance of political pull, and their only complaint, as Griffin states above, was that Kearny was too lenient in his treatment of Frémont. As an example of opinion which duplicates Griffin's sentiments, see Captain Turner's letters to his wife. Henry Smith Turner, "Letters about the Mexican War," *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, II (December 1934-January 1935), 14 *et seq.* For further details of the difficulties between Kearny, Stockton, and Frémont, see Thomas Kearny, "The Mexican War and the Conquest of California," in this QUARTERLY, VIII (September 1929), 251 ff.; also *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton* (New York, 1856), pp. 146, 149-56; Appendix, pp. 26-48; *Defence of Lieut. Col. J. C. Frémont before the Military Court Martial* (Washington, 1848); and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 414-32.

114. The Hon. Willard P. Hall, congressman from Missouri.

115. Leroux, one of the guides for the Mormons.

116. The town mentioned as taken by Cooke was Tucson.

117. *Nit argent* is silver nitrate. *Ungs Resens* is resin ointment. *Sul. morphia* and *Acid sul aromat.* are sulphate of morphia and aromatic sulphuric acid.

118. *Malek Adhel*, a Mexican brig cut out at Mazatlan by the boats of the *Warren*, on September 7, 1846. She was used by the United States Navy as a transport and dispatch boat on the Pacific Coast during the conquest. Log of the U.S.S. *Warren* (original MS in National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

119. Soap plaster.

120. Commodores William Branford Shubrick and James Biddle had been sent to increase the naval forces on the Pacific Coast. Shubrick arriving first, on January 22, 1847, superseded Stockton as commander of the fleet, and was in turn replaced by Biddle, on March 2, 1847. With the coming of Shubrick, the lack of cooperation between the Army and Navy forces on the Coast came to an end. Shubrick recognized Kearny as civil governor. The Lexington arrived on January 28, 1847, carrying a company of the 3rd Artillery under Captain Christopher Q. Tompkins, with materiel for building and maintaining fortifications.

121. William H. Russell had been appointed secretary of state to Governor Frémont, by Commodore Stockton.

122. Santiago Argüello held an honorary command as captain in the California Battalion.

123. Miguel Pedrorena acted as Stockton's aide and held the rank of captain in the California Battalion.

124. The U. S. storeship *Erie* arrived at Monterey on February 13, 1847. Colonel Richard Barnes Mason, 1st United States Dragoons, was on board, sent out to replace Kearny as civil governor when the latter should return home.

125. The first copy of the paper is dated August 15, 1846, and, according to Colton, appeared on that date. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 32. At least some of the copies were in circulation as early as the 13th. George W. Ames, Jr., "Horse Marines, 1846," this QUARTERLY, XVIII (March 1939), 79. Commodore Stockton is said to have provided the money, out of his own pocket, for establishing the newspaper. *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton*, pp. 156-57.

126. For the "paper war" see *ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 43-48.

127. It is difficult to determine the person to whom Griffin refers.

128. James H. Cloud was paymaster for the Mormon Battalion.

129. This, of course, has reference to the ill-fated Donner party. For the best all-around work on this tragedy see George Rippey Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger, the Story of the Donner Party* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936).

130. Henry Wager Halleck, lieutenant of Engineers, came with Company F, 3rd U. S. Artillery, to inspect the fortifications on the Pacific Coast.

131. George Stoneman, lieutenant of 1st Dragoons, came with the Mormon Battalion. He earned an enviable reputation in the Civil War as a cavalry leader and in the eighties was governor of California. Camp Stoneman, near Pittsburg, California, was recently named for him.

132. The regiment was sent out in four ships, three of which left New York on September 26, 1846, and the fourth on November 13. The first three arrived in San Francisco during March of 1847; the *Thomas Perkins* on the 6th; the *Susan Drew* on the 19th; and the *Loo Choo* on the 25th. The fourth ship, the *Brutus*, arrived on April 18.

133. Richard Owens, one of Frémont's original party and captain of Company A, California Battalion. Owens River, Owens Valley, and Owens Lake were named for him.

134. Frémont challenged Mason because he considered himself insulted by the latter's manner in issuing orders. Mason requested that the affair be postponed until he had completed his duties at Los Angeles. The meeting never occurred because Kearny, on learning of the proposed duel, prevented it by official order.

135. William A. T. Maddox, lieutenant of Marines on the *Cyane* and *Congress.*

136. J. Parker Norris had been sent east by Stockton with dispatches in September 1846.

137. Henry Delano Fitch, one of the earliest and most popular of the foreign settlers in California.

138. ℞ the doctor's instruction to the pharmacist, an abbreviation from the Latin meaning "take thou," or "take thou of." *Massa ex Hyd. Ext Colocynth* is mercury with extract of bitter apple; the remainder of the prescription is unintelligible. *Ol Ricini* ℥j—two tablespoonfuls of castor oil.

139. For a description of this ball see *The Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1923), p. 30.

140. Bancroft lists these men as belonging to Company G, New York Volunteers.

The Diary of a "Used-up" Miner

Jacob Henry Bachman

Edited by JEANNE SKINNER VAN NOSTRAND

IN THE December 1942 issue of this *Quarterly*[1] the tattered remnants of John Woodhouse Audubon's California Company were brought "overland by way of The Horn" (as one member of the company expressed it[2]) in the pages of Jacob Henry Bachman's diary. The California portion of his diary now presented is not a record of the fortunes of the entire company but rather the experiences of one member after he reached the long desired gold fields.

Before going on with the diary, it seems pertinent to explain Bachman's relationship to Audubon and to identify him as far as is possible from the meagre facts available. Bachman's grandparents, John and Eva Bachman, settled in the little town of Rhinbeck in Dutchess County, New York,[3] and had four children: Eva, Jacob, Henry, and John. John, after a brief enrollment at Williams College in Massachusetts, accepted the pastorship of the Lutheran Church in Charleston, South Carolina.[4] The rest of the family remained in New York. In Charleston, Reverend John Bachman's interest in ornithology developed into an absorbing study and led to a life-long friendship with the famous naturalist, John James Audubon and his family. Audubon's younger son, John Woodhouse, married Bachman's daughter, Maria Rebecca, and the elder son, Victor, married another daughter, Eliza. Jacob Henry Bachman, of New York, was probably the Reverend John Bachman's nephew and therefore a cousin of John Woodhouse Audubon's wife. As the majority of the California Company were recruited from among friends and members of the family in New York,[5] it was natural that Jacob Henry Bachman should be included in its membership. Nothing is known of this Jacob before he joined the California Company except that he was born about 1815.[6] His life after 1849 is known only from his diaries, one or two legal notices, and the reminiscences of old-time residents[7] of Calaveras County.

In California, Bachman prospected with his companions of the overland trip until the company died the natural death predicted for it by its leader.[8] After the company's dissolution the members were free to mine where they pleased. Many soon gave up, but Bachman stayed on, prospecting along the streams of Calaveras County, frequently and hopefully moving to new locations with first one partner and then another. He picked the surface of ground which later yielded great wealth to those equipped with mining machinery. By 1857 he was fairly permanently settled at the place now known as Fourth Crossing[9] where he had a 140 by 400 foot claim on the Ross and Bordwell lead.[10] The site of his cabin is still marked by a great walnut tree. Nearby a road leads off through the hills to L. Costa's store at Calaveritas where Bachman was accustomed to unburden himself of his small findings in a game of "pedro" with his friend, Captain Moses Thorpe. Bachman's lean figure, always accompanied by a dog (his dogs were invariably called "Heck") is still remembered by those who were children at the Fourth Crossing school in the early seventies. They called him "the goose man." He earned the name when he calmly broke a setting of goose eggs to prevent his neighbor from raising any more noisy geese, an action which started a long feud and a legal argument.

Entries in his diary during the sixties and seventies are skeletal. He mentions various mining activities, none remarkable except for one pocket.[11] From 1872 until 1878 he served three successive terms as justice of the peace. His salary for this service, dependent on the fees collected, was an inconsiderable amount in so small a community, and Bachman finally discarded the office as financially unprofitable.

One morning in June 1879 Bachman was missing from his usual haunts and was later discovered dead in his cabin. Explanations of his death ranged from murder, with robbery as the motive, to death from hemorrhage of the lungs The long history of tuberculosis in the Bachman family, from which disease nearly every known member had died,[12] and the improbability that Bachman ever had any considerable amount of money hidden in his cabin would indicate the less spectacular death. The Calaveras County Court records show that at the auction sale of his estate his quartz claim near Fourth Crossing brought only $200. His books sold for $50.

Although Bachman is not a significant figure his diary is valuable as a first-hand account of a way of living followed by thousands of men who came to California in the gold rush, men who spent their lives prospecting in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, who tried farming and returned to prospecting, who lived all their lives in anticipation of a rich strike, but who finally died in the little one-room cabins they had first built, without ever having found the riches that had lured them to California.

Audubon's California Company arrived in San Diego on November 1, 1849, completely exhausted and discouraged. Some of the men were so weak from the long overland journey that it was decided to send them on to San Francisco by boat, while the rest of the men would take the valley route north. Both divisions planned to rendezvous near Stockton. Bachman, suffering greatly from fatigue, was given a berth on the ship but was prevented from occupying it because a certain Perry "jumped his claim." Omitting the entries from November 17 to 20, we begin the second part of Bachman's diary as the ship nears San Francisco Bay:

Wednesday 21st Morning dark and rainy found ourselves with a number of other vessels near land, supposed in the neighborhood of San Francisco toward noon cleared up. ran for the Bay. wind light coming in puffs. in the evening dropped anchor (in the entrance of the harbour, very near the breakers upon which we were fast drifting) very soon up anchor and got a better offing and at eight o clock dropied anchor again among seven or eight other vessels – No prospect of getting up to the town to night

Thursday 22nd Up anchor by sunrise and with a fair wind went dashing through the bay and into port, some seven hundred miles dropped anchor about nine O clock among some one or two hundred other vessels. The Mate says there are twice as many – Most of the passengers go ashore. Some get work at ten to thirteen dollars a day . . .

Friday 23D. Morning clear and cold after breakfast nearly all ashore I remain on board expecting some of the Company to come and make arrangements about the freight – . . . in the afternoon went ashore found there was no prospect of my earning a living – twenty to thirty dollars a week for board washing six to eight dollars a dozen – went on board again more disheartened than I have ever been before. pased a most miserable night

Saturday 24th. Up early in the morning . . . – went ashore and after a long search found [Robert] Layton, [Frederick] Hewes[13] and [Langdon A.] Havens[14] hard at work tearing down an old building – then went to see Messrs Simmons Hutchison & Co Capt Simmons[15] wished me to call again– Some prospect that I shall not Starve in this City of gold – went on board the Brig in the afternoon and ate my pork and bread with a good appetite and better spirits than for some days past but God only knows what I shall do

Sunday 25th Went on shore in the morning saw my mess-mates borrowed five dollars of friend Bingham got a good dinner at the Irving House[16] for one dollar and a quarter the first I have had for many months in the afternoon stepped into the Coffee House[17] took a cup of coffee and piece of pie, for fifty cents but the kind hearted German waiter (who had encamped near our Company on the Rio Grande) refused to receive any money and presented me a cigar – met Mr. Caleb Lyons of Lyonsdale New York[18] who spoke very encouragingly and offered me his services in procuring employment, in the evening Doct Stone Mr Alden and myself got the Long Boat off from the beach and rowed on board the Brig

Monday 26 Called on Messrs Simmons & Hutchinson & Co – gave Capt. Crarey an order on the above firm for Seventy five dollars for two passages and freight from San Diego went on board the brig again – Carpenters employed breaking up the bunks so I had to move my blankets and sleep in the Cook's Galley

Tuesday 27. Hired a boat for four dollars took the freight ashore and stored it with Messrs. Simmons Hutchinson & Co they paying the four dollars commenced working for them (toting lumber rolling barrels and all sorts of the most laborious kinds of work at six dollars pr day, they allowing me the privilege of sleeping in the store House — Slight rain

Wednesday 28 A full days work pays my board and a little over

. . . .

Sunday [December] 2nd A day of rest thank God. no work no rain so I have an opportunity of ascending the hills and viewing the beautifull bay

Monday 3D Heavy rain all day worked in the Store House

Tuesday 4th Clear and cold — the hills on the oposite side of the bay covered with snow — in the evening and all night quite ill and shivering with cold

. . . .

Thursday 13th. Mr [Henry C.] Mallory[19] and several of the men arrive having come by sea from San Pedro (Mr. Audubon[20] left them at Los Angeles and continued on by land with the remainder of the men

Monday 17th Was told at the Store House that they could give me no work this week in consequence of the continued rains

Friday 21st Mr Audubon and [Robert L.] Browning[21] arrived from Stockton leaving the rest of the company encamped about four miles from the town

Monday 24th Early in the morning a fire broke out in a gambling house on the Square which nearly swept the block — Another days work and five dollars earned

Saturday 29th Left San Francisco on board the Steamer Capt Sutter proceeded up the river and arrived at Stockton 120 miles Sunday morning remained there until

Monday 31st Our mules were driven down from French Camp, — packed part of our baggage and provisions and went ahead through mud and water knee deep arriving at camp (about five miles from Stockton) late in the evening

Saturday [February] 3 [1850] Left the Chinese Diggings in the afternoon for Murphey's diggings about thirty five miles distant — (all walking that is fourteen of us the rest having been left behind to hunt up the missing mules eleven in number) made about ten miles over a pretty good road (passing Woods's diggings) and camp on pretty good ground — warm day and cold night

Sunday 4th Off early made some four or five miles to the Ferry crossed the Stanislaus river a deep clear stream about fifty or sixty yards wide. then over high hills for some two or three miles. camped on a little stream among Oak and pine timber

McLanes [McLean's][22]

Monday 5th Remaine in camp while Mr Audubon and several others go out (prospecting) that is looking for ravines containing gold

Tuesday 6th Off early travled some fourteen miles and arrived at Murpheys diggings in the evening camped on Angels creek some ten miles from the Stanislaus river (prospects anything but promising)

Wednesday 7th Out prospecting in the ravines very little success the large flat being too wet to dig as far down as necessary to get at the gold (these mines are at what is called the head of Angels creek

Saturday 10th Nothing done in the way of making money Mr Audubon says the Company will die a natural death

Monday 12th The company is fairly broken up and every man is about to go to work on his own hook

Tuesday 13th Mr Audubon Capt [Robert L.] Browning – Mr. [Robert] Simpson [Edward A. or John R.] Lambert and [Andrew J.] McGown[23] left for San Francisco

22nd & 23D Rain and snow

Sunday March 10th Mr. Audubon & [David] Hudson[24] arrived from San Francisco and Stockton

Monday 11th Commenced to rain continued to rain hail and snow until

Saturday 16th Tolerably clear no work for the whole week

Saturday 23D Rain part of three days – little work made a little over four ounces – that is for three of us – Lee – Watkinson and myself

Saturday 30th This week scarcely made expenses Tuesday. Watkinson was taken ill. Wednesday. scalded his foot and was not able to work at all

April 6th Made very little this week not enough to pay expenses, out prospecting for summer diggings – Dammed off a place on Cayute creek but not able to work it until the water runs down

Saturday April 13th Out prospecting turned Angels creek but it would not pay to work – Weather very cold and rainy

Monday 15th Went over to a branch of Calaveries creek a second time tried it thoroughly but could find no gold

Sunday 14th Clear and pretty cool in the morning upon taking my bed and blankets out of the tent to give them an airing found lying between them and the curtain a mockasin snake three or four feet long comfortably coiled up ready to strike, killed him without trial by jury

June 8th Up to this time have been working in the Gulches and am now down on the creek about a mile and half below the town Watkinson has left and the most that Lee and myself have made any week is but little over a hundred dollars – poor pay that. Week before last we had a slight shower – and rumors of war at Sonora Camp[25] the foreigners refused to pay twenty dollars for license to dig – but they finally concluded some to leave and the remains to pay up. So ended the war without bloodshed

Saturday June 22nd Last week on Wednesday three men from Maine Mr. Hebard Mr. Hall and Morse joined work with us – We made thirty or forty dollars each. – This week we made fourty six dollars each – The weather has been very cool particularly in the evenings — Sleep under two blankets a poncho and overcoat and sometimes cold at that

Sunday, June 30th Last Wednesday Messrs Fairbrother and Lawrence joined with us, so now there are seven in company we have bought two holes on the flatt and ¼ of another for the Sum of two hundred and ten dollars — Weather warm but with a fine breeze keep tolerably comfortable thermometer when I have had an opportunity of seeing one stands 99° & 100°. (Commenced working on the flatt last Monday.) Thermometer to day in the cool of the afternoon 104°.

Monday, July 1st Some two hundred of us miners at work cutting a canal three hundred yards long and some fifteen or eighteen feet deep for the purpose of draining the flatt.

Tuesday 2nd Do — A black fellow from Bombay [26] says that he has been robbed of nineteen hundred dollars by some Indians near Douglass flatt[27] a party immediately start after them kill one at two hundred and fifty yards distance (pretty good shot that) and wound two others — burn their rancherie &c

Wednesday July 3D 1850. Took the enormous sum of eight and a half dollars from one of our holes on the Flatt — better luck next time — People in town talk strong of hanging the black fellow — say that his story about the robbery was false — get up a trial — jury cant agree Weather tolerably warm — the only thermometer I have seen in town has the tube broken at one hundred and four degrees — the mercury has risen to the top and run over — This afternoon and evening all sorts of firearms in requisition and we make nearly or quite as much noise here among the mountains as is mad in the good City of New York

Thursday, July 4th Fine day clear cool breeze — people very quiet — recovering from the effects of last nights dissipation The black fellow received twenty five lashes in presence of the Indians as a caution that he must not be robbed again the White men who shot the Indians go scot free — so all parties are satisfied

Saturday 13th Thermometer this week in a nice cool shady place, they say has been up to one hundred and thirteen (Tolerably warm digging in the Sun) On Friday just below us a bank caved in and killed a mulattoe man. A great many murders and robberies committed within a few miles of us. — Cleaned out one of the holes we bought got one hundred and seven dollars — made an ounce each this week

Saturday 20th Last Wednesday Fairbrother, Lawrence, Lee & myself commenced digging again on the creek (having found too much water in the flatt to work our holes to advantage) (Hebbard, Hall and Morse together just below us) on Friday evening the citizens of Stoutenburg[28] had a meeting for the purpose of adopting measures to prevent the numerous robberies and murders which daily and nightly occur around us. Instituted a secret police and appointed delegates to attend a mass meeting at Sonora[29] (some twenty five miles distant) where report says they have arrested a band of from one to three hundred robbers and murderers Made a little over twenty five dollars each the last four days

Sunday 21st Mr N Waddams died of fever –

Friday 26th Mr. Hibbard left for San Francisco & the States thoroughly disheartened and sick of the country – the work on the flatt goes on very slowly it is almost impossible to keep the holes free of water – those on the upper flatt cannot be worked

Monday 12th [August] Went about half a mile from camp to see a couple of Mexicans who had been murdered during the night, they were both killed with a crow bar – probably by one of their companions as three bars were found on the ground

Monday 19th Having found it impossible to work our holes on the flatt, Fairbrother Lee and myself started off early in the morning in search of better diggings went to Carsons [30] first (about ten miles) from there over a high hill to Cayute Creek (one mile) from there to McLeans Ferry (half a mile) found nothing that my partners thought would warrant us in remaining – in the evening returned to Carsons Stayed all night with Abbot and Lawrence

Tuesday 20th Returned to Murpheys one of our partners along with two others are sinking a hole under Fletcher's direction

Sunday Morning 25th Fairbrother, Hall, Lee and myself start off on another prospecting tour in the evening camp on the Calaveries below Norma [Foreman][31] Ranch – 17 miles

Monday 26th Remain prospecting different bars

Tuesday Morning 27th Went down to the lower [Foreman] Ranch nine miles farther prospects anything but flattering

Wednesday evening 28th Camp at the upper Ranch

Thursday Morning 29th Fairbrother and Hall both tired out, leave us and start for camp at Murpheys Lee and myself determined not to give it up so borrow a small cradle and go to work to make expenses

Friday and Saturday – do –

Sunday Morning Sept. 1st Returned home, a couple of Ounces better off than when we left

Tuesday Afternoon 3D Lee and myself pack up a tent some clothing cooking utensils &c. on a waggon and start for the Calaveries again – in the evening camp on Douglass Flatt.

Wednesday 4th Reached the Calaveras in the afternoon get our plunder down to the place we prospected

Thursday 5th Get the tent up and things a little snug

Friday 6th Go to work make but very little

Saturday and Monday do

Tuesday 10th Prospect the branch about two miles above – but conclude to remain where we first located

Saturday 14th The best day's work we have done here – made fifteen dollars each – have had a slight sprinkling of rain three days in this week

Sunday 15th Lee went to Murpheys and returned in the evening Fairbrother joined us.

. . . .

Thursday Evening, Oct 3D Mr Taft, on the opposite side of the creek just returned from San Francisco was accidentaly shot whilst unloading the waggon, by one of the men attempting to draw his gun from the waggon by the muzzel, it is a very dangerous wound in the shoulder – We have averaged about four dollars a day each, this week up to Saturday 5th Oct clear and pleasant all this week, no rain

Sunday 6th Lee and myself started for Murphey's, stoped at Angels Camp then at Carsons where we dined crossed over the hill to Cayute Creek up the Creek to see the two natural bridges[32] some three or four miles below Cayute diggings the first one covers about three or four hundred feet of the creek we could not pass through as we had no boat. – The entrance from the lower side is some forty or fifty feet across and about the same length to where it commences narrowing and from ten to fifteen feet high. At the upper side or where the water enters there is a regular and very beautiful dome some twenty five feet high. The second bridge is three quarters of a mile above about the same size as the first, the lower cavern (or where the water leaves the bridge) is nearly the size of the first but higher and very beautifully ornamented with fountains &c The upper cavern (or where the water first enters) is about one hundred and fifty feet long, and consists of a continued range of Gothic arches from twenty five to thirty feet high. All four of these caverns are more beautifull than anything I have ever seen or read of. the whole of them are variegated with every immaginable colour–and probably more beautifull than any others ever described–Passed through Cayute diggings in the evening on to Viacieta [Vallecito]. took supper and arrived at Murphey's eleven O clock at night

Monday 7th Returned to the Calaveries

Wednesday 16th Fairbrother started in search of a place for winter quarters – of which we had heard in the summer, Lee and myself remaining at work on the bar

Wednesday 23th In the Afternoon Fairbrother returned – his search having proved unsuccessfull – Lee and myself had made two hundred and twelve dollars in the mean time which we divided with him

Friday 25th He left us for Sanfrancisco or home

Sunday 27th Lee and myself went to Murphey's – some prospect of our finding the place yet –

Monday 28th Returned

Tuesday 29th Last night or rather this morning, Mr. Taft died of his wound and was buried this afternoon.

Thursday 31st Lee and myself went to Murphey's again. found the Indians had robbed our tent of a rifle all of my clothes (except a pair of drawers) my journal since I left New York and a variety of other things

Friday, Nov 1st Morse was accidentally shot in the neck (with a pepper box). left Murpheys. went to McKinneys[33] from there to the diggings for which Fairbrother had searched in vain slept at McKinneys

Saturday 2nd Went to the diggings again in the morning then returned home by way of San Antoine We have walked this week over one hundred miles

Monday 4th Packed our donkey and Started again for the diggings # camped on the Calaveries – Had to make two trips from our old camp and one from Murpheys got up all our plunder as the Western men call it – tent up and pretty fairly settled by

Monday 11th.

Wednesday 13th Commenced building a log Cabbin, Lee cutting the principle part of the timber and I putting up building chimney, &c

Saturday 24th Moved into our cabbin although not quite done it is much more comfortable than the tent with the rain pouring upon us as we have had it two nights this week – consider the rainy season fairly set in

Saturday Decr 7th Cabbin quite finished with table, four stools and sundry other furniture not as pretty but quite as useful as any in the States

Tuesday 10th Cut wood for good fires – The snow that fell more than a week ago to the depth of three or four inches is still on the ground.

Wednesday 11th and Thursday 12th out prospecting – from all appearances we shall not make a fortune in this place. but we have comfortable quarters for winter and a pretty fair stock of provisions and must remain

Tuesday 24th Have not been able to find anything that will pay, nearer than three miles from here so have concluded to put up another cabin near the place (About one and half miles from McKinney's)

Wednesday 25th Clear and plesant

Thursday 26th Went down to McKinneys ground our Axes and hatchets and made a slight commencement toward building a cabin

Wednesday Jany 1st 1851 Keeping New Year day on pork & beans (not very dissipated) The new cabin is nearly framed although the first timber we cut is so large that we cannot get it up so that labour is lost. We are obliged to walk some three miles every morning to our work – and have lost a day and half by having our timber too large The weather is very warm and plesant – all the rain and snow we have had this season will not amount to a week

Friday Jany 3D Moved part of our things to and pitched our tent inside of the new cabin

Sunday 5th Heavy rain in the afternoon and slight rain Monday evening 6th

Wednesday 15th. Cabin finished except a few little affairs. Weather has been clear and warm. No water to wash our dirt We have not made two dollars since we left the Calaveries – There have been three parties out after the Indians, all unsuccessfull. The Indians have swept nearly the whole country, of Mules and horses and are decidedly hostile

Tuesday Feby. 4th Finding that we were not likely to have water enough to do anything in the way of dry digging, packed up and moved down to our old place on the Calaveries

Monday 17th Bought Shepardson & Taft's Cabin provisions &c and moved in – Lee is disabled with a felon and I lame with Rheumatism. continue work until

Thursday 20th Obliged to lay by scarce able to move

Tuesday 25th At work again. Lee still unable to do anything – We have had two days of slight Showers since we have been here days warm and nights cold – makes ice half an inch thick

March 9th Went to McKiney's returned on the 10th We have had a little more than a week of rainy weather this Month

April 2ed Wednesday Started for Murphey's by way of Angels, Carsons Cayute Flatt, Dusty Bar. returned to Carson's in the evening. Watkinson joined us at Angels, Left Carson's in the morning and went to Murpheys by way of Douglass Flatt Left Murphey's on the morning of the 5th Friday returned to Angel's remained all night with Watkinson at Young's and returned home.

Saturday 6th Considerable rain fell this week. raised the stream carried off our cradle &c.

. . . .

Sunday 27th Weather has been tolerably clear and pleasant since Monday, the rainy season is probably over – Flowers commenced blooming the latter part of Feby and now the whole country is covered with the most beautiful variety

Tuesday 6th May – Early in the morning Lee and myself started for San Francisco. by half past ten we had walked to the Calaveries Ranch – some twenty two miles – took dinner – and about two O clock the Stage from Mokelume passing we rode the remainder of the distance to Stockton (thirty five miles) $8." where we arrived at Sundown – About twelve O clock we were alarmed by fire, and before morning all of the business part of the City was burnt down. After breakfast left the Phoenix Hotel, and dined at the Stockton House on the opposite side of the slue

Wednesday 7th In the afternoon four O clock took the Steam Boat, C.M. Webber for San Francisco, one hundred and twenty miles, fare ten dollars (meals one fifty) Arrived in Sanfrancisco about sunrise. Hotels that remained standing all full, in consequence of the large fire which occurred a few days before finally succeeded in obtaining lodgings at the Rassett House.[34] Remained until

Saturday 10th Returned to Stockton in the Webber. Stoped at the Stockton House until

Monday 12th Took stage to Double Springs[35] (forty five miles fare ten dollars) then walked to Lattimers Ranch[36] (four miles) supper and lodging

Tuesday 13th After breakfast walked home

. . . .

Saturday [June] 14th [1851] In company with Lee and two others walked to Angel's After dinner to Carsons (or Melona)[37] as the place is now called) to see the Quartz mining opprations — They have just had a row with some Mexican Guerrillas and gamblers — three or four killed and several wounded — many of the americans have left — They expect another fight to night as we are very wel armed urge us to stay — We return to Angels in the evening promising to be on hand with a large party from that camp if wanted

Sunday 15th All quiet at Melonas We return home bringing half a dozen of Angels boys with us

Sept. 5th Friday — Slight sprinkling rain the first this season

Saturday 6th In the afternoon had quite a smart shower — brought my bed inside the cabin — the first time I have slept inside since the first of the summer

. . . .

Nov 7th [1851] Still on the Calavares Slight rain in the evening

. . . .

Tuesday 23D [December 1851] Lee started for San Francisco returned Thursday Jany 1st 1852

Thursday 8th Commenced another cabin up the creek about two miles

Thursday 15th Moved into it

Monday Feby 9th Lee and myself concluded to disolve our partnership he going below, and I with Harvey Allen remaining here. made an engagement with Harvey to remain with me until the first of Sept. next

. . . .

April 3D [1852] Saturday — Moved to Indian creek, about two and a half miles above the cabin — hoping to make expenses until the water is lower in the main creek

Tuesday 20th Finding that I could not do as well as I expected moved down (a short distance below the old Cabin) on the Calevares again

June 4th Received a visit from my old messmate and friend Hudson

. . . .

Thursday July 22 [1852]. Lee and myself, having previously entered into partnership commenced prospecting

25th Bought a mule with the intention of joining a party to prospect the North Branch of the Mokalume

Prospected back of Bear Mountain then (in August) with John Crins up as far as Independence Flatt and Spruce Gulch[38] on the South Fork of the Mokulmne – could find nothing that would pay so we disolved.

Augt. 30th Took Stage to Hudson & Co. Ranch near Stockton remained until Sept 5th returned home on the Calavaries

Sept. 1852 Myself and Barny Loomis looking around for a piece of ground to settle down upon cant find one Barney returns to Eldorado I continue the search and find one that I think will do (about four miles South of Foremans Ranch)

Sept. 20th Go to El Dorado to see Barney we form a partnership

Tuesday 21st Ride over to the Ranch and take possession

Wednesday 22 Move over and camp there commence cutting timber for house & COrrals

Monday 27th Purchase a Waggon and three and a half yoke of Oxen for five hundred and fifty dollars

Oct. 18th With Spafford to Hudsons Ranch purchase Barley go to Stockton for Farming utensils &c and return on Saturday 23D

Saturday evening, Novr 6th Moved into our house although unfinished there has been a little rain within the last two weeks

Saturday 27th Commenced ploughing

. . . .

Oct 25th [1853] Very light frost the first this Season – Gardening has been very unprofitable, so far – Last Wednesday night (19th) sat perched up in a tree all night waiting for a Bear to come underneath to be shot (he would not come) As I was returning home in the morning thinking of anything but Grizzlys, One chased me up a tree and then left before I could get a shot at him

Saturday 29th Commenced building a Bear trap – Any number of Grizzlys in the Valley

November 12th Saturday Night Robt. Soule and myself went to sit up in a tree and shoot Bear. Saw three coming down upon us and were obliged to take a different tree from the one we had selected – put some three balls into the old one but the distance was too far and our aim uncertain by moonlight. they all ran away – also caught one in our trap and he ate out –

Saturday 19th Found a *real* Grizly in our trap this morning of good size – and forthwith put a couple of ounce balls (from my little shot gun in his head) he never moved after

Sunday Morning 20th Another Grizly still larger than the one of yesterday. Shot him with my fowling piece in the brain. he dropped dead the moment the balls entered. he measured as he was hanging up dressed for market from to tip of the nose to the hind foot eight feet and ten inches and the smallest circumference of the neck — three feet

. . . .

Continued farming with but slight success until November 2nd 1855 when I sold out my half of the ranch appurtenances and stock to Robert S. Soule and Henry Parker for the Sum of Two thousand dollars, taking a Mortgage for one half the amount and the ballance in notes of hand

Novr 3D Commenced boarding at A C Beritzhoof's (Fourth Crossing) Calaveras Co.[39]

Novr Bought a share in a mining claim (above the bridge on San Antone creek) of Bishop for Three hundred and fifty dollars. Worked two days and had another very severe attack of Inflamatory Rheumatism which disabled me for near seven months

June 24th [1856] Wm Robertson[40] and myself moved over to my cabin just above Alecks [Alexander C. Beritzhoff's?] and opposite the claim, which we had comenced working again a short time previous. (Pierce & Douglass our partners furnishing two Chinamen in their places)

July 5th Up to this time the claim has cost me about $390. 00/100 and my labor — My receipts are about $120. 00/100 and no water at present to continue mining

November 28th Gave up mining in the creek with the loss of my labor it has not paid me the money I gave for the claim

Novr 29th Wm. J R Robertson left me and went to work on his claim in French Gulch

Decr 21st Wm May commenced living with me

Decr 24th Commenced work (fluming Whiskey Gulch,)[41] in connection with Wm May, Edward Lichau[42] and Jacob Giddeon

Decr 27th Moved my house across the creek

Feby. 26th 1857. Wm. May left and built a house

March 20th Whisky Gulch not paying we gave it up and dissolved partnership

March 25th I took up claims on Whiskey Flatt and commenced a cut through the ridge for fluming

April 20th Returned to work on my Quartz claim in the hill near Alecks

June 22ed James W Ritchie was crushed in a tunnel just opposite me and died in about six hours — was buried the next day

. . . .

Worked on my Quartz claims (with the exception of a few days,) untill Sept 22ed [1857]

Sept 22ed Again commenced working on my Fluming claim on Whiskey

Flatt, cutting through the ridge and getting it down to grade

Oct 6th Commenced raining last night and continued nearly all day, the first of any consequence this fall

Oct 7th & 8th Rain nearly all day and night

Oct 9th Cleared up last night — Some twelve or fifteen sluice heads in the creek

Oct 23 and 24th Worked on my two Quartz Claims

Jany 29th [1858] My old friend G F Van Buren[43] started for San Francisco to take the Steamer of the 5th Feby. for New York

Feby 8th Hired two Chinamen and commenced washing in my fluming claim

Novr 2ed Fluming claim wont pay me for working — Sold it to a company of Chinamen for Four hundred dollars

Jany 18th 1859 Sold the Comstock & Cole claims [44] and Cabin (purchased by me last summer) — for Three hundred dollars

In the latter part of December of 1859 had another attack of my old complaint — Inflamatory Rheumatism — and was carried down to the hotel — kept by Mr Reddick[45] — through whose kind attention I was enabled to get around in the course of a couple of months, but was not able to work until the latter part of the Spring of 1860

Jany 1st 1861 Since I recommenced mining in the Fall of 1855 I have been losing money all the time untill now I am nearly "dead broke"

May 11th [1862] Yesterday and the day before hard and very cold rain — Snow on the mountains near — last night a very heavy frost

The highest floods since I have been in California occurred last winter. bridges, flumes & dams nearly all washed away

. . . .

July 1st 1872 Still at the old place Fourth Crossing, Calaveras Co and to day commenced my first term as Justice of the Peace, San Andreas Township

Jany 1st 1874 Commenced second term.

Jany 1st 1876 Commenced third term of Justice of the Peace of San Andreas Township, Calaveras Co Cal

Jany 1st 1878 Finished my third term of Justice of the Peace, having served six years and declined to serve longer as it dont pay

NOTES

1. Jeanne Skinner Van Nostrand, "Audubon's Ill-Fated Western Journey," this *Quarterly*, XXI (December 1942), 289-310. The diaries kept by Jacob H. Bachman are in the possession of Hon. J. A. Smith, of San Andreas, who has kindly permitted their publication.

2. Stockton *Record*, July 9, 1932.

3. C. L. Bachman, *John Bachman, the Pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church*, (Charleston, S. C., 1888), pp. 2-19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

5. "Jacob Henry Bachman goes along from here," wrote Victor Audubon from New York to Maria Bachman in Charleston on January 28, 1849. Letter in The Charleston Museum, South Carolina. Since the publication of the first installment of the Bachman diary, a copy of the agreement signed by the members of Audubon's California Company has been located by Mr. Lindley Eberstadt, of New York City.

6. "Great Register of Calaveras County. 1872-73" (photostatic copy of MS, in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California).

7. Recollections of Hon. George Cosgrave, of Fresno, California; Mrs. Hannah C. Riffe, of San Francisco; Miss Effie E. Johnston and Mrs. Johannah Nuland, of San Andreas; and Mr. John H. Tone, of Stockton; and scrapbook of newspaper clippings belonging to Hon. J. A. Smith, of San Andreas, California.

8. See Bachman's entry for February 10, 1850.

9. On Highway 49, five miles from San Andreas on the road to Angel's Camp.

10. The location notice in the Calaveras County Records is dated September 13, 1857.

11. When John N. Tone visited Bachman about 1877 Bachman told him he had a mine that "was going to be a wonder."

12. Bachman, *op. cit.*, contains numerous references to family deaths from tubercu-

13. Van Nostrand, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 306, 307.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

losis including both the daughters who married John James Audubon's sons.

15. Simmons, Hutchinson and Company were commercial merchants and exchange brokers on Clay Street Wharf. Captain Bezer Simmons, a native of Vermont, master of the *Magnolia*, came to California in 1843 and was elected a member of the Town Council of San Francisco in 1849. He died in 1850. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), X, 720.

16. Robert Irvine is listed as the proprietor of the Irving House, between Front and Davis Streets, in Lecount & Strong's *City Directory of San Francisco, for 1854.*

17. Probably this was the German Coffee Saloon, 152 Clay Street, A. Kimmer, proprietor. Lecount & Strong, *op. cit.*

18. Caleb Lyon was born in Lyonsdale, New York, December 7, 1822, and died near Rossville, Staten Island, New York, September 8, 1875. He was assistant-secretary of the constitutional convention held at Monterey in September 1849; while there he is said to have designed the state seal of California. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet. *The Annals of San Francisco* . . . (New York, 1855), p. 805.

19. Van Nostrand, *op. cit.*., p. 307.

20. *Ibid.*, *p.* 305.

21. *Loc cit.*

22. McLean's Ferry was on the Stanislaus River at the point where Coyote Creek joins the Stanislaus, according to J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857), p. 358. McLean, Jeffry & Company owned five hundred yards of land on the banks of the Stanislaus "beginning at a large oak tree opposite Jackass Gulch and running up the river to the first fall." "Miscellaneous Records" (Calaveras County Court House, San Andreas), p. 62. Edna-Bryant Buckbee, *Days of Angel's Camp* (Angel's Camp: Calaveras Californian [1932]), p. 78, locates McLean's Ferry across the Stanislaus near the mouth of Indian Gulch, just below what was later known as Robinson's Ferry.

23. Van Nostrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-8.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7.

25. For a discussion of the trouble between the Mexican and American miners at

Sonora see Charles Howard Shinn, *Mining Camps, a Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885), pp. 127, 213-17.

26. There is a full account of this incident in Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Scenes of Life in California,* translated from the French by George Cosgrave (San Francisco: John Howell [1942]), pp. 133-38.

27. Douglas Flat lies in a little valley between Vallecito and Murphy's, on one of the branches of the Stanislaus River.

28. "Tradition. also ascribes the first finding of gold here (at Vallecito) to Stontenberg, who was one of his (Murphy's) company, and for a time it was proposed to call the new place by the latter name." San Andreas *Independent,* May 1, 1858. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *op. cit.,* p. 145, spells the name "Stoutenburgh" and indicates that it was the name originally given to Murphy's.

29. In the California Historical Society's collection is a broadside, "Preamble and Resolutions Read and Adopted at the Mass Meeting, Held in the Town of Sonora, on Sunday, July 21, 1850."

30. Carson's Hill and Carson's Creek were named for James H. Carson. The former is five miles southwest of Angel's Camp. A rich strike was made there in the Morgan mine about the time of Bachman's visit in 1850. Buckbee, *op. cit.,* p. 2; Titus Fay Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California . . .* (San Francisco, 1868), p. 264.

31. David N. Foreman, for whom the Foreman mining district was named, was first known in Calaveras County as a member of the Slab Ranch colony mining near Angel's Camp. Foreman operated a toll bridge at the fourth crossing of the Calaveras River in conjunction with his hotel, store, stage depot and general repair shop. The property was known as Foreman's Upper Ranch. Heckendorn & Wilson, *Miners & Business Men's Directory For the Year . . . 1856 Embracing a General Directory of the Citizens of Tuolumne and Portions of Calaveras . . .* (Columbia, 1856), p. 99; Buckbee *op. cit.,* p. 7; Albert Alexander Lascy, "Sketches of Early History of Calaveras County" (MS in Bancroft Library, Berkeley). Samuel Foreman and A. C. Beritzhoff sold the bridge and hotel to William Reddick and John Hill on November 2, 1858. "Deeds, Book D" (Calaveras County Court House, San Andreas), p. 252. During Reddick's ownership the place was known as Reddick's, and later it was given its present name of Fourth Crossing. Professor George R. Stewart, on the testimony of Bill Gillis, gives Fourth Crossing as the most likely locality for Bret Harte's mining activities. H. E. & E. G. Rensch and Mildred Brooke Hoover, *Historic Spots in California, Valley and Sierra Counties* (Stanford University Press [1933]), p. 46.

32. These bridges are off the highway between Vallecito and Columbia.

33. McKinney's secret diggings, or McKinney's Humbug, was discovered in the fall of 1850. Heckendorn & Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. 96. "McKinney's Humbug . . . An easy half day's walk brought us to Cave City on the north side of O'Neill's Creek, in a gulch euphoniously called McKinney's Humbug, on line of the Table Mountain Ditch, and in the heart of what was once, perhaps the most wealthy mining district in Central Calaveras." San Andreas *Independent.* August 21, 1858. A footnote in the diary locates Bachman's diggings about four and a half miles from McKinney's.

34. The Rassette House was erected in 1850 on the southwest corner of Bush and Sansome Streets. It burned in 1853 or 1854 and the Metropolitan Hotel was constructed on the site, which in turn was replaced by a new Metropolitan Hotel in 1863. San Francisco *Daily Alta California,* July 17, 1863.

35. Double Springs, the first county seat of Calaveras County, was at the head of a gulch at the forks of the main trail from Stockton to the southern mines, one fork running easterly to Mokelumne Hill, the other southerly, to San Andreas. Lascy, *op. cit.*

The cabin court house, made of panels thought to have come from China, is still standing. Rensch and Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

36. David Lattimer appears in a "Directory of Men in Calaveras County in 1850," a newspaper clipping in Hon. J. A. Smith's scrapbook of newspaper clippings. D. Lattimere is listed as postmaster at North Branch in the *Calaveras Chronicle*, October 12, 1861.

37. Melones and Robinson's Ferry are given as one location by some authorities, while others locate the ferry two miles east of the town. Melones was on a slope of Carson Hill.

38. Independence Flat and Spruce Gulch, about thirteen miles from Mokelumne Hill, are near, or are a part of, the settlement now known as Railroad Flat. Elmer R. King, comp., *Handbook of Historical Landmarks of California* (Los Angeles: [privately printed, 1938]), no. 286.

39. Alexander C. Beritzhoff was one of the first settlers near Linden, San Joaquin County, in the spring of 1849. *History of San Joaquin County, California* . . . (Oakland, Cal.: Thompson & West, 1879), p. 110. The Calaveras County, "Supervisor's Minutes," August 8, 1855, record the renewal of a license to Alex. C. Beritzhoff to keep a toll bridge across the San Antone Creek, or Fourth Crossing of the Calaveras River, at a point known as Forman's [Foreman's] Upper ranch (MS in Calaveras County Court House, San Andreas). The San Andreas *Independent*, October 17, 1857, printed a notice that "A. C. Beritzhoff formerly of the Fourth Crossing in this county will take charge of Foreman's, San Joaquin County (Foreman's Lower Ranch)."

40. William James Roscoe Robertson appears in the "Great Register of Calaveras County for 1867" as a resident of Calaveritas. During the seventies he lived between Fourth Crossing and French Gulch, and was engaged in sheep raising.

41. Whisky Gulch and Whisky Flat were about one and a half miles southeast of Fourth Crossing. The present highway to Angel's Camp bisects the gulch near San Domingo Creek. The cut in the ridge which is still discernible may be the one mentioned by Bachman in his diary entry of March 25, 1857.

42. Dr. L. and Mary Lichau were among the first permanent settlers of Altaville and vicinity, according to Buckbee, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Edward Lichau may have been one of this family.

43. Van Nostrand, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

44. Probably the Comstock and Paul leads in the Fourth Crossing mining district, claims for which were recorded by E. Emmanuel, county recorder, San Andreas.

45. William and Elizabeth Reddick, natives of Wythe County, Virginia, were members of the Slab Ranch group of miners, in Calaveras County. William Reddick made several trips to California, furnishing and outfitting emigrants, bringing the first company across in 1849. He mined near Angel's until 1858 when he purchased from A. C. Beritzhoff a farm, hotel, and bridge at Fourth Crossing. He kept the hotel until his death on August 14, 1889. One of his sons, Hon. John B. Reddick, was elected to the state legislature in 1875 and became lieutenant-governor of California in 1890. *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Merced, Stanislaus, Calaveras* . . . (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), pp. 353-54, and statements of Hon. George Cosgrave of Fresno, California.

News of the Society

Meetings

The speaker at the Annual Meeting on January 29 was Dr. John Donald Hicks, Morrison Professor of American History at the University of California; his topic was "The Roaring Seventies." In his interesting review of that decade Dr. Hicks gave an outline of the disturbed situation prevailing throughout the United States and indicated the forms it took in California—the conflicts between the railroads and the agrarian interests, the economic depression of 1873, and sand-lot meetings of 1877 in San Francisco, with Denis Kearney and the cry of "The Chinese must go," and the resurgence of the Vigilante spirit. The speaker recounted the development of the Workingmen's Party in 1878 and the Constitutional Convention of 1879, resulting in the adoption of California's Constitution of that year. Dr. Hicks indicated that what had been thought by many to be an incipient revolt had resulted in nothing more than development of a third party, which disappeared not long afterward, and a change in the Constitution of the State. Eighty members and guests were present.

Gertrude Atherton, famous California novelist, spoke on "The Pageant of San Francisco Society Through the Years" at our monthly luncheon meeting, in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel on Tuesday, February 16. One hundred and thirty-six members and guests were present.

In lively and witty manner, Mrs. Atherton sketched the life of the city's Society and the development of its social traditions from the time when Mrs. Hall McAllister was social arbiter, from the late sixties to the eighties, and thence to the period of Mrs. Eleanor Martin and our modern day. The social leadership of "Ned" Greenway in the nineties and the history of the Burlingame Country Club, one of the first country clubs in the United States, were pertinent parts of the delightful discourse, which abounded in personalities, with references to many socially prominent families.

The Annual Business Meeting of the California Historical Society was held on Friday, January 29, 1943, in the Comstock Room, Palace Hotel, San Francisco, pursuant to a notice sent to all members. Mr. Walter Starr, President of the Society, presided.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting of January 23, 1942, but on motion duly made and seconded, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The President, having appointed Miss Dorothy H. Huggins and Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand tellers to count the ballots for Directors which had been received by mail and at the meeting, announced that 210 ballots had been cast, and that the following 15 had received the majority of votes:

Anson S. Blake
Allen L. Chickering
Templeton Crocker
Aubrey Drury
Sidney M. Ehrman
John D. Galloway
Mrs. John O. Gantner
Morton R. Gibbons
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
George D. Lyman
Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin
F. W. McNear
C. O. G. Miller
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
Walter A. Starr

The President therefore announced that the foregoing had been elected Directors to serve during the ensuing year and until their successors are elected and qualify.

The Secretary then presented a report for the year 1942, and on motion duly made, seconded, and carried, the report was accepted and ordered spread upon the minutes. The report follows:

Report of the Secretary

For the Year Ended December 31, 1942

MEMBERSHIP

The California Historical Society is increasing steadily in membership, and in the midst of trying times has maintained its position in an effective way, as an outstanding institution devoted to the preservation of things historical pertaining to California and the West.

In the year 1942 the membership of the California Historical Society recorded a net gain of 23 members. According to our last annual report, at the end of the year 1941 we had 602 members, of whom 18 were patron and 25 were sustaining. During the year 1942, 80 new members were elected (including 1 patron and 1 sustaining member); 4 former members (including 1 sustaining member) were re-elected; 33 resignations were accepted; 3 members were dropped for non-payment of dues; 18 died (including 1 patron and 4 sustaining members) and notice was received of 3 deaths which had occurred during the previous year. At the end of the year 1942 we had 625 members, of whom 15 were patron and 27 were sustaining members.

MEETINGS

Six directors' meetings were held during the year, and ten luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting of the members of the Society. The subjects and speakers at the luncheon meetings were:

Jan. 23—"Lansford W. Hastings, Man of Action and Vision," by Mr. Leon O. Whitsell.

Feb. 17—"Progress Made, and Work Ahead, in Preserving Our Historic Landmarks," by Hon. Joseph R. Knowland.

Mar. 17—Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman sketched the history of the earlier California historical societies, and Mr. William E. Colby spoke on "A Half Century of Conservation in California."

Apr. 21—"Recollections of the San Francisco Disaster of 1906," by Mr. J. B. Levison; Battalion Chief Fred J. Bowlen gave a brief history of the San Francisco Fire Department, and recalled his experiences in the Great Fire of April 18, 1906.

May 19—"The Territory of Nataqua: An Episode in the Frontier Period of California East of the Sierra, 1850-1865," by Dr. William Newell Davis.

June 16—"William Keith in the History of California," by Brother Cornelius.

Aug. 18—"Jessie Benton Fremont – A Great American," by Dr. James A. B. Scherer.
Sept. 29—"Cabrillo and California, 1542-1942," by Dr. Max Savelle.
Oct. 27—"The Early Relations of California with British Columbia," by Judge Frederic W. Howay.
Nov. 17—"The California Academy of Sciences and the Early History of Science in the West," by Dr. Robert Cunningham Miller.

NEW DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

In January Mr. Anson Blake was elected to the Board of Directors, to take the place of Mr. J. K. Moffitt, who could not serve because of pressure of other work. In June, Mr. Allen L. Chickering was elected to the Board to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Robert E. Cowan. At the same time, Mr. Aubrey Drury was elected secretary and Dr. George D. Lyman was elected treasurer, to succeed Ensign Warren R. Howell, who had resigned as secretary-treasurer to go into active service as a member of the U. S. Naval Reserve. At the Board meeting on August 25, Mr. John D. Galloway was elected to fill the vacancy on the Board caused by Ensign Howell's resignation.

GIFTS AND LOANS

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, manuscripts, and historical items, the Society is indebted to the following:

Alameda County Library, Mr. Harris S. Allen, Automobile Association of Southern California, Binfords & Mort, Miss Alma Birmingham, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mae Hélène B. Boggs, Book Club of California (The Albert Bender Fund), Mr. Frederick J. Bowlen, Mrs. Philip R. Bradley, Miss Frances Bramhall, Mr. Thomas P. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Warner Brown, Mrs. Edna B. Buckbee, Mr. W. E. Burden, Jr., California Railroad Commission, Mrs. Martha W. Caughlan, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Miss Fanny J. Chipman, Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz, Mrs. E. M. Coffin, Dr. Peter T. Conmy, Mr. Mortimer E. Cooley, Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. James H. R. Cromwell, Hon. Homer D. Crotty, Mr. William H. S. Demarest, Miss Lucie Dobbie, Mr. C. S. Donning, Mr. Aubrey Drury, Miss Alice Eastwood, Mr. William T. Ellis, Mrs. Milton H. Esberg, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Mr. Joseph Fauntleroy, Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, Mr. James K. Fisk, Mr. J. H. Furst, Mr. John D. Galloway, Mr. Vallejo Gantner, Mrs. Frances T. Gardner, Mr. Arthur Gradwohl, Mr. Louis W. Hage, Mr. H. S. Hamlin, Miss Ray Harris, Mrs. Jerome A. Hart, Mr. Robert P. Hastings, Miss Edith Hecht, Dr. Robert F. Heizer, Mr. H. Hewlett, Miss Alice Hilgard, Mr. B. F. Howard, Mr. John Howell, Mr. John Thomas Howell, Ensign Warren R. Howell, Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, The Huntington Library, Mrs. A. Jannapolis, Mr. Abraham Kamber, Miss Florence R. Keene, Mr. Glenn A. Kennedy, Mr. Lawton R. Kennedy, Mr. Edmund G. Kinyon, Miss Bertha A. Kirkpatrick, Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, Mr. Robert J. Koshland, George H. Kress, M.D., Mr. Carl Larson, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mr. R. G. Lillard, Mrs. Hans Lisser, Los Angeles City College, George D. Lyman, M.D., Mr. M. Hall McAllister, Rev. Francis F. McCarthy, C. K. McClatchy Senior High School, Mr. Augustin S. Macdonald, Mrs. Charles E. MacKenzie, Lt. Comdr. J. F. MacMullen, Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, Mr. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., Mrs. Alice B. Maloney, Mr. Garfield D. Merner, Mr. George A. Merrill, Meyer Supply Company, Mr. Franklin Mittau, Montana State University Library, National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Capt. R. E. O'Neill, Mrs. Silas H. Palmer, Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Mr. Emmet Perry, Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum, Dr. Charles P. Porter, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Mr. Milton Ray, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Rhein, The Roxburghe Club, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San Mateo County Historical Association, The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., Miss Sue

O. Shoemaker, Capt. Albert Shumate, Dr. A. A. Soulé, Miss May H. Southern, Stanford University Press, Mr. Harold F. Taggart, Miss Ruth Teiser, Miss Ina Love Thursby, Mr. Archibald J. Treat, Mr. D. Q. Troy, U. S. Dept. of the Interior National Park Service, U. S. National Archives, U. S. Works Progress Administration, University of California Press, University of Colorado, University of Pennsylvania, University of Texas, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, The Ward Ritchie Press, Mr. Willard O. Waters, Miss Caroline Wenzel, Mr. Carl I. Wheat, Mr. C. E. Whiteside, Mrs. Francis Williams, Miss Anna Cora Winchell, Miss Harriet Winslow, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Mrs. William A. Wood, Miss Lottie G. Woods.

Contributions of money, to assist the Society in carrying on its activities, were received from Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Hon. Jeanette Daley, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, Mr. Raymond C. Force, Mrs. John O. Gantner, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., Mrs. E. S. Heller, Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Mr. L. A. Hopkins, George D. Lyman, M.D., Mr. J. K. Moffitt, Mr. George A. Pope, Mr. Lowell R. Smith, and Mrs Daniel Volkmann.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year the Society issued one new special publication, *Archaeological Evidence of Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeño's California Visit in 1595*, by Robert Fleming Heizer, with an introduction by Alfred Louis Kroeber and a report by Colin Garfield Fink and Eugene Paul Polushkin on the examination of ten iron spikes recently found at Drake's Bay.

Respectfully submitted,

Aubrey Drury, *Secretary.*

The report of the Treasurer was presented in the form of a summary prepared by Francis P. Farquhar, auditor for the California Historical Society. The report will be printed in our June issue.

The President then called for any other business which any member might wish to present. There being no further business, on motion duly made, seconded and carried, the meeting adjourned.

Aubrey Drury, *Secretary*

Gifts Received by the Society

December 1, 1942, to March 1, 1943

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. HARRIS S. ALLEN—Fourgeaud, Victor J., *The First Californiac, Being a Reprint of Prospects of California . . .*, San Francisco: The Press of Lewis and Dorothy Allen, 1942.

From BINFORDS & MORT, PUBLISHERS—U. S. Works Projects Administration, *Provo, Pioneer Mormon City*, Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1942.

From MISS JEAN MacGREGOR BOYD—[Scott, W. A.], *My Residence in and Departure from California* [Paris, 1861 (?)].

From DR. JOHN DENTON CARTER—Carter, John D. *Before the Telegraph: The News Service of the San Francisco Bulletin, 1855-1861*, reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (September 1942).

From THE CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION—Hoy, William, *The Chinese Six Companies . . .* San Francisco: The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association [1942].

From JUDGE FREDERIC W. HOWAY—Howay, F. W., Presidential Address: *International Aspects of the Maritime Fur-Trade*, from the *Proceedings* of The Royal Society of Canada, 3d Ser., Vol. XXXVI, 1942.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Millard, Bailey, *History of the San Francisco Bay Region . . .* Chicago, etc.: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1924, 3 vols.; *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery . . .* Wisconsin Volume, Chicago, etc., 1877, Young, John P., *San Francisco, a History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis*, San Francisco, Chicago [1912], 2 vols.

From MR. GEORGE A. MERRILL—Merrill, George A., comp., *The Story of Lake Dolores and Mission San Francisco de Asis* [Redwood City: priv. prtd., 1942].

From MR. GRANT D. MILLER—Cummings, G. A., and Pladwell, E. S., *Oakland, a History* [Oakland, Calif.: The Grant D. Miller Mortuaries, Inc., 1942].

From THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA RESIDENT IN . . . CALIFORNIA—Allen, Alice Mayhew, *Early Roads and Trails in California*, San Francisco: The National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1942.

From THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY—Haskell, Daniel C., *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842, and Its Publications, 1844-1874*, New York: The New York Public Library, 1942.

From MR. THOMAS W. NORRIS—[Fages, Pedro], *Letters of Captain Don Pedro Fages & The Reverend President Fr. Junipero Serra at San Diego, California in October 1772*, tr. by Henry R. Wagner; [Forbes, James Alexander], *The Battle of Santa Clara, an Unpublished Letter;* Riley, Bennett, *Proclamation . . . the Third Day of June 1849 . . .* (The foregoing were privately printed at The Grabhorn Press, 1938-1942.)

From HON. THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST—Prendergast, Thomas F., *Forgotten Pioneers, Irish Leaders in Early California*, San Francisco, The Trade Pressroom, 1942.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Chalfant, W. A., *Tales of the Pioneers*, Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press [1942].

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS—Chapman, Arthur, *The Pony Express . . .* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons [1932]; King, Elmer R., comp., *Handbook of Historical Landmarks of California*, Los Angeles [priv. prtd., 1938].

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—*The Alta California Almanac and Book of Facts for the Year 1883*, San Francisco, 1883; *Constitution and By-Laws of the Merchants' Club of San Francisco*, San Francisco [1886].

MAPS, DOCUMENTS and MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS FANNY J. CHIPMAN—Map, "Plat of the Rancho Miramontes," copy made in 1862 from the original survey; Map of Pulgas Ranch; Deeds to Alameda property, 1871; Cancelled promissory notes of the 1880's; Correspondence of John W. Dwinelle and of William W. Chipman, 1860-1880; Daily appointment book of John W. Dwinelle, 1873; Letter written by Bishop Ingraham Kip from San Francisco to Hon. J. W. Dwinelle, May 16, 1879.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—*The Evening Post*. San Francisco, July 30, 1906. and other documents of the 1870's.

From MR. THOMAS W. NORRIS—*Jackson's Map of the Mining District of California*, and Appendix, *The Signers of the California Constitution . . . and Governor Bennett Riley's Constitutional Proclamation; M. G. Vallejo's Release from Fort Sutter, August 2nd, 1846; The Volunteer's Vision*, a poem written by Lieut. R. M. Morrison of Stevenson's Regiment, while aboard the *Loo Choo* on the way to California. (The foregoing facsimiles were privately printed at The Grabhorn Press, 1936-1941.)

PICTURES

From MISS ALMA BIRMINGHAM—Portrait of Arnold Genthe, on glass.

From MISS FANNY J. CHIPMAN—Photographs: Joaquin Miller, June 26, 1891 (2), John W. Dwinelle and members of his family (8), Hon. Stephen J. Field, Judge Clifford.

From MR. ARCHIBALD TREAT—Photograph: Panorama of San Francisco water front, 1927.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Photographs (ca. 1890-1900): San Francisco buildings, homes, and scenes (9), Yosemite Valley (5), Del Monte Hotel, Beach at Santa Cruz, Business section of San Jose.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS FANNY J. CHIPMAN—5 Scrapbooks: "Notes of Travel," 2 vols., (Vol. II contains John W. Dwinelle's letters to the Rochester *Daily Advertiser* reporting his trip to California in 1849); Biographical material in re Timothy Guy Phelps (newspaper clippings, letters, docs.); Newspaper clippings concerning the water question, 1877, collected by John W. Dwinelle; Newspaper articles concerning San Francisco, Alameda, etc.; invitation to the marriage of Flora Sharon and Sir Thomas Hesketh, Belmont, 1880; Biographical newspaper clippings; Autographs and calling cards of California pioneers, etc.

From MR. C. S. DONNING—Newspaper article on early history of Paso Robles district.

From MR. V. HOWARD—Volume of programs of the San Francisco Municipal Band, 1912-13.

From MR. J. P. HUTCHINS—5 pages from the French newspaper *Le Charivari* containing advertisements of companies formed for emigration to the California gold regions (1849-50).

From MR. J. JUEDES—Program commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Johann Strauss, San Francisco Auditorium, October 15, 1894.

From THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES—3 cuts of maps used in the Society's publications.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Program of Trinity School, Annual Exhibition, May 25, 1882; and other items.

New Members

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
McEnerney, Garret, II	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Ransome, Bernard	Diablo, Calif.	Mr. Walter A. Starr

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Baldwin, Alexander	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Barkan, Otto, M. D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Buck, Mrs. Frank H.	Vacaville	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Carrier, Mrs. Craig	San Francisco	Miss Lottie G. Woods
Chamberlain, Mrs. Selah	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M. D.
Connolly, Rev. Thomas A.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Cowan, Robert G.	Los Angeles	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Dwyer, W. P.	Sacramento	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Eloesser, Leo, M.D.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Fleming, Dr. Sandford	Berkeley, Calif.	Chaplain Clifford M. Drury
Haenszel, Allen L., M.D.	San Bernardino	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Haight, Raymond L.	Los Angeles	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Hall, H. Raymond	Piedmont, Calif	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Halvorson, Olaf	Huntington Park, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Hamshaw, Mrs. Walter	Oakland, Calif.	Mrs. Randolph C. Walker
Hewitt, Mrs. Aldwyn	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Hoehn, Charles J. P.	San Francisco	Capt. R. E. O'Neill
Hohfeld, Edward	San Francisco	Mr. Walter A. Starr
Holt, Emerson	Riverside, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Hoover, Theodore J.	Davenport, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Johnson, J. B. S.	San Francisco	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Johnston, William B., M.D.	Reno, Nevada	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Lurie, Louis R.	San Francisco	Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman
Metcalf, Mrs. John B.	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Meyer, Eugene	Washington, D. C.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Motherwell, Robert B.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Native Daughters of the Golden West, Grand Parlor	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Orrick, O. S.	San Francisco	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Parrish, H. H.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Patigian, Haig	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Patterson, Henry H.	Newark, Calif.	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Post, Mrs. Rita Johns	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. Gertrude A. Steger
Ralston, Hon. Jackson H.	Palo Alto, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Rooney, Miss Raymonde	Angels Camp, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Salinger, Mrs. Albert	Piedmont, Calif.	Mrs. George L. Cadwalader
Schmulowitz, Nat	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Skewes-Cox, Robin Warne	Berkeley, Calif.	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Stack, Joseph B.	New York City	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Treat, Arichbald J.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Tresidder, Dr. Donald B.	Stanford University, Calif.	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Washington State College Library	Pullman, Wash.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Webb, Thompson	Claremont, Calif.	Mr. Walter A. Starr
Wiel, Eli Hecht	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Wilbur, Dr. Ray Lyman	Stanford University	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Zellerbach, J. D.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn

Reclassification of Memberships

From Active to Sustaining

Bank of America
K. K. Bechtel
Leon Bocqueraz
Homer D. Crotty
J. S. Hutchinson
Lawton R. Kennedy
Thomas W. Streeter
Mrs. M. B. Threlkeld

In Memoriam

CHARLES CALDWELL DOBIE

1881-1943

When Charles Caldwell Dobie died on January 11 San Francisco lost not only one of its most distinguished literary figures but a gallant gentleman, a man of intellectual and personal integrity and a versatility so uncommon that he was as popular socially for his liveliness of mind, humor, and good-fellowship, as with the reading public for his admirable stories and such thoughtful and enduring works as *San Francisco, a Pageant*, and *San Francisco's Chinatown*. Hostesses competed for him, and no one was invited more frequently to "Montalvo" when the late Senator James D. Phelan was entertaining so brilliantly, no one was more welcome to both host and guests.

He was born in San Francisco on March 15, 1881, and attended primary and grammar school, but, forced into a business career at an early age, he educated himself thereafter with diligent study of the best in literature. It was not long, however, before he discovered that he was a born writer, and devoted his spare time to practising the difficult art of the short story. For years he met with only local recognition, but finally Henry L. Mencken, then editor of the *Smart Set*, bought one of his stories. Shortly after that two acceptances arrived by the same mail, one from *Scribner's*, one from the *Atlantic Monthly*. Orders poured in. William Dean Howells praised him. Dobie was "made." He said farewell to the insurance business and devoted himself entirely to writing.

When, in 1923, I was asked by John Galsworthy to form a P. E. N. chapter in California I could think of no one so likely to make it a success as Mr. Dobie. He was distinctly the leader of the younger group of writers in central California, was popular with all of them, enterprising and enthusiastic. He made a tremendous success of the dinners given every season for so many years, and of our P. E. N. in general.

His short stories received other recognition. They were included in *The Best Short Stories* of Edward O'Brien and in Harper's *Prize Short Story Collections;* he was the only author asked to contribute two stories in one year to the Harper volume, and he received two awards from the Commonwealth Club of California for literature.

He is survived by his only brother, Mr. Clarence W. Dobie, with whom he lived for many years at 840 Green Street.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON

LILLIAN EICHELROTH FRICOT

1864-1942

One of the most widely known and universally beloved women of Calaveras County, Mrs. Desiré Fricot died at her home in Fricot City on July 31, 1942.

Lillian Eichelroth, daughter of Dr. William E. Eichelroth, a pioneer of Sonora, was born in that Mother Lode town in 1864. On November 10, 1898, she married Desiré Fricot, the son of Jules Fricot, who had come to California from France in 1851.

Until Desiré Fricot's death in December 1940 the Fricots made their home on San Antone Ridge, near Angels Camp, in what is now known as Fricot City. Together they devoted their lives to the preservation of the beauties of the Sierras, the accumulation of knowledge of California and Calaveras County history, and the education and welfare of young people. Though childless, they gave much of their time and money to the Boy Scouts of Calaveras and San Joaquin counties.

When Desiré Fricot, a patron member of the California Historical Society died, his widow became an active member. In spite of her failing health she sought in every way to carry on the good works they had shared.

Besides the Calaveras County Museum at San Andreas, the Fricots will be remembered for their participation in the crusade to have the Calaveras Grove of Big Trees preserved as a state park.

DOLORES WALDORF BRYANT

SAMUEL KNIGHT

1863-1943

Samuel Knight, distinguished California lawyer, died in San Francisco, on January 28, 1943, after a brief illness.

Born in San Francisco on December 28, 1863, he was of pioneer stock. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln appointed his grandfather, Samuel Knight, to the bench of the Federal Court in San Francisco. Mr. Knight's father, also named Samuel, was early identified with the historic Wells, Fargo express company and was killed in an explosion which wrecked the old Express Building at Montgomery and California Streets, San Francisco. An uncle, Henry Haight, was an early governor of California.

Samuel Knight was graduated from Yale in 1887. Two years later he obtained his law degree from Columbia University Law School and began practice in San Francisco. He was assistant United States attorney for the Northern District of California from 1893 to 1895, and United States attorney, 1896-97. At the time of his death he was a member of the law firm of Knight, Boland & Riordan.

Mr. Knight was a member of the San Francisco, California State, and American bar associations, the American Society of International Law, Phi Beta Kappa honor society, and many clubs.

In 1899, with the late Federal Judge William Morrow, Mr. Knight founded the local chapter of the American Red Cross, and in 1927 he became a member of the national central committee. At the time of his death he was an honorary national committeeman.

He was a one-time town trustee of Hillsborough, and during the first World War, was a major in the United States Army, serving as judge advocate in the 91st Division.

Samuel Knight was married in 1895 to Mary Hurd Holbrook, also a member of an eminent early San Francisco family. Besides the widow, he is survived by a brother, Robert Knight.

GEORGE H. B. WRIGHT

1875-1942

Born on April 14, 1875, in Toronto, Canada, with his death on December 12, 1942, in Berkeley, California, Canon George H. B. Wright completed a span of sixty-seven years, the first decades of which were devoted to schooling in preparation for his life's work, and the last thirty-six years to service as a church and social service leader in the communities in which he lived.

The canon received his early scholastic training at the Modell School, Toronto. From Stanford University, where he graduated in 1898 with an A.B. degree, he entered the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, then at San Mateo. By his thirty-first year he was a deacon and a year later an ordained priest. From 1906 to 1911 he was the rector of Christ Church, San Jose.

For the next twenty years he served the parish of St. Stephen, San Francisco. It was natural that he should go from St. Stephen to Grace Cathedral to become canon precentor .No more gracious leadership has ever presided over diocesan council. The canon had a message not only for his church, but one that was heard and heeded by all the youth in his parish as well as the community at large.

Probably this work began at Stephen's. There he founded Boy Scout Troop No. 16, of which he was a counsel minister at the time of his death. Not only was he a leader in the boy scout movement but also in other organizations demanding service, such as the Travelers' Aid and the Indian Association, and St. Dorothy's Rest.

The canon was blessed with a presence, a full voice, and natural leadership. From his followers he received not only respect but personal devotion. Neither were his gentleness, reality, courtesy, nor simplicity lost upon them. Some looked upon him as a saint. All appreciated his approach to the ideal.

Marginalia

In addition to those recorded on the foregoing pages, we regret also to report the deaths of the following persons whose obituaries were not received in time to be included in this issue: Mr. John D. Galloway, on March 10, 1943; Mrs. Lee A. Phillips, on December 9, 1942; and Miss Frances Taylor, on February 15, 1943. It is hoped to include them in the June number.

Lack of space has forced us to hold over the "Check List" until the June issue, and only brief mention can be made here of some of our new members.

Alexander Richards Baldwin* was born in San Francisco, received the degree of Ph.B. from University of California in 1896 and LL.B. from Hastings College of the Law in 1899, and has practiced law in California ever since. He has been president of Western Pacific Railroad Corporation and vice-president of The Western Pacific Railroad Company.

Eva Benson Buck is the widow of our late Member, Congressman Frank H. Buck,* whose obituary was printed in the December QUARTERLY.

Robert Grannis Cowan is the son of Robert Ernest Cowan,* noted California bibliographer and long-time member of our Board of Directors, who died last May.

Mrs. Craig Carrier, librarian of the California State Society of the D. A. R., is the granddaughter of Noah Sanford Arnold who came to California in 1848, engaged in business in Shasta County, and became a merchant in San Francisco in the early sixties.

The Right Rev. Thomas A. Connolly, Pastor of Mission Dolores, is the first native-born San Franciscan to become auxiliary bishop of San Francisco in that archdiocese.

William P. Dwyer is the son of Captain Thomas Dwyer who came to California in 1860 and in 1862 organized the Sacramento Wood Company which later developed into the Sacramento Transportation Company. William P. Dwyer was born in Sacramento, graduated from Saint Mary's College in 1892, and adopted river transportation as a career. He was elected president of Sacramento Transportation Company in 1918 and since 1932 has been president of The River Lines, a merger of the California, Fay, and Sacramento transportation companies.

Leo Eloesser* was born in San Francisco, the son of Arthur and Molly (Heyneman) Eloesser. Holding a B.S. degree from the University of California and an M.D. from Heidelberg, he has served as assistant in surgery, University of California; clinical professor of surgery, Stanford University; consulting surgeon U. S. Veterans Bureau, U. S. Marine Hospital; and is chief of Stanford surgical service, San Francisco Hospital.

Sandford Fleming,* born in Adelaide, Australia, has been professor of Church History in the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School since 1926 and its president since 1937. He is an authority on early Baptist history on the Pacific Coast.

Raymond LeRoy Haight,* born in San Jose, California, holds degrees of A.B. and J.D. from the University of Southern California and since 1921 has practiced law in Los Angeles, where he has been senior partner of Haight, Trippet & Syvertson since 1927.

Mr. Charles Hoehn, president of the Enterprise Engine and Foundry Co., has lived in San Francisco all his life. His parents came to California from Europe in 1875.

Edward Hohfeld,* the son of Edward and Rosa (Hillebrand) Hohfeld, was born in Oakland. He holds the degree of A.B. from the University of California, and an LL.B. from Harvard. Since 1907 he has practiced law in San Francisco and is now senior partner of Morrison, Hohfeld, Foerster, Shuman & Clark.

Theodore Jesse Hoover,* born in West Branch, Iowa, received the degree of A.B. from Stanford in 1901, has been professor of mining and metallurgy at Stanford University since 1919, and is now dean of engineering emeritus. His wife, the late Mildred Brooke Hoover who was co-author of the series of books on *Historic Spots in California*, was a member of our Society. He is a brother of former President Herbert Hoover.

William B. Johnston was born in Washington, D. C., received his A.B. degree from Harvard in 1897, M.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1901, and retired in 1919. His wife, the former Janet Newlands, is the daughter of Senator Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, and granddaughter of William Sharon, of San Francisco, who completed the building of the Palace Hotel. Dr. Johnston's paintings illustrating the life of Junípero Serra have been exhibited in Boston; one, an oil, depicting the founding of the Mission Dolores is in the Sharon Building, San Francisco.

Garret McEnerney II is the nephew of Garret McEnerney* who died last August and whose obituary was printed in our September 1942 issue.

Eugene Meyer,* is publisher of the *Washington Post.* His father, Eugene Meyer, came to San Francisco from France in 1859, two years later went to Los Angeles, and eventually became head of Eugene Meyer & Co. There he married Harriet Newmark (daughter of Joseph Newmark). Returning to San Francisco in 1883 he engaged in banking. Eugene Meyer, the son, was born in Los Angeles but left California in 1893. He attended the University of California and holds the degrees of A.B. and LL.D. from Yale and LL.D. from Syracuse University.

Robert Burns Motherwell,* born in Ohio and educated at Western Reserve University and the University of Oregon, has been banking commissioner of the State of Washington, has held various positions with the Federal Reserve Bank and is now president of Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.

Haig Patigian,* sculptor, was born in Armenia. He received honors for his work in the Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1915, and his statue of Thomas Starr King stands in National Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C. Among the many examples of his sculpture in San Francisco are the pediment of the Metropolitan Life Building, groups and figures for San Francisco Memorial Museum, statutes of General Pershing and Lincoln, and the monument to William C. Ralston.

All four of the grandfathers of Rita Johns Post came to California before 1855. One of them, William Johns, was one of the trustees of the Sutro Tunnel; another, Victor Waldron Seaman, of San Francisco, was one of the owners of the bark *America* that took Harry Meiggs to South America.

Jackson Harvey Ralston* is the son of Harriet N. Jackson and Judge James H. Ralston who came to California from Illinois in 1850. Judge Ralston was a member of the Illinois legislature of 1837 which included Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, and Edward D. Baker. In 1852 he was state senator from Sacramento, where his son Jackson was born in 1857. He lost his life on the Nevada desert which bears his name. The present Jackson Ralston was American agent and of counsel in the case of the Pious Fund of the Californias against Mexico, the first dispute submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague under The Hague Peace Convention of 1899.

Bernard Ransome is the son of Ernest Leslie Ransome, an early machinery manufacturer and designer of San Francisco. For the past fifty years Bernard Ransome has been associated with engineering and contracting organizations in California and is now president of the Ransome Engineering and Contracting Company.

Miss Raymonde Rooney, of Angels Camp, Calaveras County, comes of pioneer stock on all sides of her family. She is a niece of the late Mrs. Desiré Fricot.

Nat Schmulowitz,* born in New York, received his B.S. from the University of California in 1910, studied at Hastings College of the Law, San Francisco, was admitted to the California bar in 1911 and has since practiced in San Francisco. Since 1928 he has been a member of the firm of Gavin McNab, Schmulowitz, Wyman, Aikins & Brune.

The great-grandfather of Robin Warne Skewes-Cox, Dr. Thomas Stokes Page, emigrated from New Jersey to Valparaiso, Chile, in 1838. In Chile he first met Faxon Atherton (later Mrs. Gertrude Atherton's father-in-law) and there both men were married and their children were born. Sometime in the fifties the Atherton family moved to California. Before following them in 1860, Dr. Page wrote to Mr. Atherton, asking him to buy a ranch for him. The Cotati Ranch, north of Petaluma, was bought and remained in the possession of the family until 1932. After Dr. Page's death in 1872 the family moved first to San Rafael and later to San Francisco, where most of its members live today.

Archibald Treat was born in Virginia City, Nevada, in 1864, and after the Comstock fire of 1875 came to San Francisco. He served as messenger boy and telegrapher for the Central Pacific Railroad and about 1884 became secretary to Stephen T. Gage, the assistant of Leland Stanford and a director of the Southern Pacific Company. After Stanford's death Mr. Treat became clerk in the office. Mr. Treat was admitted to the bar about 1895. He has been associate editor of the Sausalito *Advocate*, the *Western Field* and other publications, has lectured on patriotic subjects and has written many plays and stories. His wife is the former Helen Bosqui, daughter of Edward Bosqui.

Donald B. Tresidder, born in Indiana, received both A.B. and M.D. degrees from Stanford University. In 1920 he married Mary Curry, daughter of the pioneers of Camp Curry, in Yosemite, and since 1925 Dr. Tresidder has been president of the Yosemite Park and Curry Co. He was elected a trustee of Stanford University in 1939 and became president of the Board of Trustees in 1942. In January of this year he was elected president of the University and will take over his new duties in September.

Thompson Webb,* a native of Tennessee, is the founder and head of the Webb School of California and director of the California Junior Republic. He is also a director of Scripps College, Norton School (both at Claremont) and Pomona Valley Hospital.

Eli Hecht Wiel, born in Baltimore, Maryland, came to San Francisco in 1875 where he has lived continuously, with the exception of four years spent in study in Boston. He is a director or office holder in many civic, industrial, and charitable associations. He is president of Buckingham & Hecht, boot and shoe manufacturers founded in San Francisco in 1857 by Isaac Hecht and Thomas Buckingham.

Ray Lyman Wilbur* was graduated from Stanford University in 1896, and received the M.D. degree from Cooper Medical College (now the Stanford Medical School) in San Francisco in 1899. After serving as instructor and as assistant professor in physiology, then as professor of medicine, at Stanford University, he became dean of the Stanford Medical School in 1911. In 1916 he was elected president of Stanford University and continued in that office until 1941. He has been chancellor of the University since 1942. From 1929 to 1933 he served as Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Hoover.

James David Zellerbach* was born in San Francisco in 1892, the eldest son of the late Isidore Zellerbach, pioneer paper manufacturer who was born in Moores Flat, Nevada County. James D. Zellerbach graduated from the University of California in 1913 and since 1914 has been associated with Crown Zellerbach Corporation, succeeding his father as president. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, a director of the San Francisco War Chest and of the Hebrew Home for the Aged Disabled, and past president of the Mount Zion Hospital.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company

Leader of the California Brigade of 1832-33

By Alice Bay Maloney

JOHN WORK was an active participant in the fur trade of the Pacific slope during its peak years.[1] His geographical range was wide, and he served the Hudson's Bay Company in many capacities: from his enrollment in 1814 as a writer he advanced through the ranks of steward, clerk, trader, and factor, and finally served as a member of the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island.[2]

From York Factory, headquarters of the company on Hudson's Bay, John Work's progress continued westward until he reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean in 1824.[3] As leader of trapping and exploring parties he traveled with his men east to the Rocky Mountains and as far south as the Stanislaus River in central California. For many years he was stationed at Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast. He explored the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Skeena River[4] and other mainland streams in pursuit of his duties. His travels by canoe and horseback through numerous friendly and hostile Indian tribes gave him an intimate knowledge of a vast terrain and schooled him in the rough diplomacy which characterized the dealings of a great fur company with savage peoples drawn by the fur trade into the international network of world commerce.

The fur trade of the Pacific Northwest had a maritime inception, but from 1793, when Alexander McKenzie, of the North West Company of Montreal, broke through the barrier of the Rocky Mountains and spanned the continent from coast to coast, the land fur trade began its slow development toward the high point reached in the 1830's. Simon Fraser and John Stuart established posts on the lakes of New Caledonia, in what is now British Columbia, in 1807, and heard from the Indians stories of the Americans, Lewis and Clark, who had reached the mouth of the Columbia River in 1805. Fraser descended, in 1808, the river which bears his name but found the stream unnavigable and with no site suitable for a fur trade post.

Two great fur companies, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, were competitors for the furs of the northern portion of the North American continent, but prior to 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company did not extend its activities west of the continental divide. The North West Company sent David Thompson on several trips of exploration and trade promotion, and his maps and journals are witnesses to the extent of his travels and knowledge of the region now covered by the states of Washington, Montana, and Idaho. He traced the course of the Columbia River to its mouth, which he reached in 1811.

Upon his arrival there Thompson found competitors in possession of the field. Americans sent out by John Jacob Astor had established a post, which they had named Astoria, and were engaged in trapping furs for shipment by sea. The Oregon Country, extending from the Spanish land of California northward, was claimed by both the United States and England, and the race to secure the furs of the region was stimulated by international rivalry which was sharpened by the threat of still another participant, the Russian American Company, now well established in Alaska and looking toward the south. As a concomitant of the War of 1812 Astoria was purchased by the North West Company, and was renamed Fort George. This company thereby gained trade supremacy in the area. In 1818 a treaty of joint occupation was signed by England and the United States. This agreement was extended in 1827, and it was not until 1846 that a boundary line between the lands of the two countries lying west of the Rocky Mountains was definitely fixed.

In 1821 the long and bitter rivalry of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company terminated in a coalition of the two firms under the name of the latter. George Simpson was named Governor of Rupert's Land, with jurisdiction extended to the fur posts of New Caledonia and the Columbia District. Under his energetic management the establishments of the Pacific Northwest became the scene of renewed activity. Headquarters were removed from Fort George to a more advantageous site on the north bank of the Columbia River, 112 miles upstream. The new post, Fort Vancouver, was the fur capital of the region. The brigades of trappers were increased in size and number, and each year saw the fur hunters ranging farther afield in an effort to secure the harvest before American rivals should arrive at the trapping grounds. The two nationalities clashed first in 1824, when Peter Skene Ogden and his Snake brigade encountered American trappers in the Rocky Mountains. Subsequently the English brigades were instructed to remain west of the continental divide. International boundaries at this time had not yet been surveyed and in some cases had not yet been determined upon by the disputing nations. The line between California, then a province of Mexico, and the Oregon Country was stipulated as the 42nd parallel of latitude. Gradually the Hudson's Bay Company brigades encroached upon Mexican territory, as the streams near the posts in the Columbia District were depleted of beaver and otter pelts, the furs in greatest demand.[5]

An American trapper, Jedediah Smith, reached Fort Vancouver by way of California in 1828.[6] The reports he gave of the quantity and quality of the furs in interior California streams led the Hudson's Bay men to hasten south to secure the furs before other Americans could arrive on the scene. Brigades were sent out from Fort Vancouver under Alexander Roderick McLeod in 1828-29[7] and under Peter Skene Ogden in 1829-30.[8] Both brigades reached the great valley of California and found Smith's reports were not exaggerated. McLeod came to grief in the mountains on his way home and lost his furs. A portion of his journal has appeared in print, but the section published deals exclusively with Oregon.[9] Ogden also met disaster when his boat capsized in the Columbia River as he neared Fort Vancouver. His records were lost.

The next brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company to reach California was that of John Work which left Fort Vancouver on August 17, 1832, and returned to that post on October 31, 1833. Work's journal of the expedition will be published in subsequent issues of this QUARTERLY.

John Work was sober, industrious, reliable, faithful to his employers, loyal to his friends and devoted to his Indian wife and their family of eleven children. These are not spectacular traits with which to enliven a biographical sketch, nevertheless they must be assumed to form a background for the dramatic incidents of exploration, fur-hunting, and Indian fighting in which he participated, and for his life at distant Fort Simpson. These same traits graced the serenity of his declining years in the picturesque settlement which grew up at Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island.

John Work brought to the Pacific Northwest standards of conduct from which he did not deviate. He chose as a mate a half-breed Indian girl, whose father was a wandering French Canadian trapper, and treated her with much consideration and affection. This consort accompanied John Work on his long and dangerous journeys, and his life was so closely linked with hers that his story without hers would be incomplete. Just as the background of his character must be assumed to color his every action, so must the presence of the wife be taken for granted in the thick of every episode, even those punctuated by the flight of arrows and the flash of firing muskets.

John Work was born in 1792 near Londonderry, Ireland, where the family had resided for three hundred years. His correct name was WARK, not WORK. Upon his enlistment in the ranks of employees of the Hudson's Bay Company his name was entered on their books as "JOHN WORK," and this spelling he adopted henceforth. His Irish friends and relatives were very indignant that the time-honored name of WARK had been anglicized. A tradition that the change was due to an error in the Office of Land and Works is discounted by family members. John Work's associates adapted themselves readily to the new spelling, as is attested by their letters, but the pronunciation was another matter, and descendants still refer to their progenitor as "Wark."[10]

In letters now on file in the Archives of British Columia John Work makes occasional reference to a much younger brother who also had emigrated to Canada. This brother has been identified as the late Senator David Wark who celebrated his one hundredth birthday in 1905. A nephew, John Wark or Work, joined his uncle in Victoria in 1850 and remained as his amanuensis until 1861.[11]

At the time of the coalition of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, John Work was at Red River. On July 18, 1823, he started for the Columbia District.[12] In the party was Peter Skene Ogden, already a veteran of the Pacific Northwest fur trade. Ogden was returning from London where he had gone to reinstate himself with the Hudson's Bay Company after service with the Nor'westers. There is no evidence that any close friendship developed between Work and Ogden whose trails were to cross and recross for twenty-five years as they journeyed from company posts in the Columbia and New Caledonia districts. John Work, in his correspondence, always referred to "Mr. Ogden" and betrayed no warmth of feeling as he did when he mentioned his particular friends, Edward Ermatinger, Archibald McDonald, John McLeod, Samuel Black, the irrepressible Frank Ermatinger, and the devoted John Tod.

In the intervals between fur-gathering expeditions, Work took up residence at Fort Colville. In the course of a few years he "established there a very productive farm, the first attempt at agriculture in British or American possessions west of the Rocky Mountains and an achievement of no small importance in those early days when the fur traders had to be dependent mainly upon themselves for the cultivation of grain and the production of other supplies necessary for their own subsistence and the support of outlying posts."[13] John Work also spent some time at Flathead House in what is now Montana during his earlier years in the Columbia District.

Several direct and indirect references appear in Work's correspondence, both from Red River and Fort Colville, regarding Indian housekeepers employed by him during his early years in Canada and in the Oregon Country. They were an indispensible adjunct to life in the fur trade in which care for shelter, food and clothing was essential to maintain existence. It was at Fort Colville (in what is now northern Washington), however, that John Work met his life's companion. She was Josette Legace, daughter of Pierre Legace[14] who had crossed the Rocky Mountains with Finan McDonald about 1807. Legace and McDonald took up residence with an Indian chief near the site of Spokane, Washington, where they resided over the winter season.[15] This chief is sometimes referred to as a Spokane, but Josette herself told a grandson that he was a Nez Perce. Legace (as did Finan McDonald) took a daughter of this chief as mate, and Josette was the child of this union. She became a young woman of great beauty and outstanding character. The historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, meeting her in 1884, was impressed with her dignity and worth, remarking, "The Indian wife in body and mind was strong and elastic as steel."[16] None but an Indian woman could endure the perils and hardships of a fur trader's life of this period. She bore eleven children[17] for whom there are records. There may have been, and probably were, others who died in infancy. In the main the children arrived when the couple was temporarily domiciled in a trading post or fort, but one, at least, arrived in an Indian lodge. This was Letitia who was born in Idaho in 1831, and tradition claims that her birth occurred while the Snake brigade was under siege by Blackfoot Indians.

One small glimpse of John Work's life at this period comes from a letter written by John Tod to Edward Ermatinger: "New Caledonia, 18 Feb. 1830, I have got a letter from our worthy friend Work which has pierced me to the soul—he has given Kittson a sound beating."[18] References to his friend were not always punctuated by the sly humor which marked Tod's letter of 1830. In 1831 he again wrote Ermatinger, then residing in eastern Canada:

> New Caledonia, 10 Apr., 1831. I have not one word of either Work or Frank [Ermatinger]—but believe both proceeded last summer on the trapping expeditions. God bless them both— I wish them well out of it— Poor Work—if he remains much longer in the Country neglected I fear he'll die of the spleen— he is much more discontented with the manner in which the good things are shared here than myself— He has now however an arduous duty to perform, but there is little doubt of his getting through it with his usual success.[19]

John Work returned from the expedition mentioned by Tod on July 27, 1832.[20] He was informed that he was to start on another expedition almost at once. His reaction to the prospect is seen in a letter he wrote to Edward Ermatinger:

> I am going to start with my ragamuffin freemen to the southward towards the Spanish settlements but with what success I cannot say. I am tired of the cursed country, Ned, and becoming more dissatisfied every day with the measures in it; things don't go fair, I don't think I shall remain long, my plan is to hide myself in some out of the way corner, and drag out the remainder of my days as quietly as possible. Susette [Josette] is well, we have now got three little girls, they accompanied me these last two years, but I leave them behind this one, the misery is too great. I shall be very lonely without them but the cursed trip exposes them to too much hardship.[21]

It was not John Work's intention to take his family on the California expedition, but he reckoned without the intrepid Josette. Although not the slightest intimation is written in his day by day record that she was a member of the southern brigade, a letter written to a friend after their return states definitely that she and the three little girls were with him.[22] Josette came down from Fort Colville, where she had been visiting during Work's absence at Fort Vancouver, and met him when the brigade came up-river to Fort Nez Perce.[23] A list of the sick people of the California party has recently been found among some uncatalogued papers in the Archives of British Columbia. It is in John Work's handwriting. Entries include members of his family.[24]

The route of the southern brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company of 1832 followed the Columbia River by water to Fort Nez Perce, later called Fort Walla Walla, where horses awaited the party. The band of trappers, which numbered one hundred men, women and children, then turned southward over the mountains until they reached the headwaters of Silvies River, which stream they followed to its mouth at Malheur Lake in central Oregon. Here they turned west across the sagebrush desert region, finding their way by familiar landmarks: isolated buttes now called Iron Mountain, Wagontire Butte, and Juniper Mountain. Bending to the southwest they passed Alkali Lake, Abert Lake and Abert Rim, reaching at last Goose Lake on the 42nd parallel, the boundary between the Oregon Country, jointly held by England and the United States, and the Mexican province of California.

Goose Lake was traced along its eastern shore until Pit River was reached. The trail followed down this stream, crossing and recrossing Pit River several times, until a stream now called Hat Creek was attained. The brigade ascended Hat Creek to a point now known as Doyle's Corners. A trail here turned to the west to ascend a steep slope between Magee Peak and Burney

Mountain. A fairly low pass in the Cascade Mountains enabled the party to reach the headwaters of Cow Creek, which they followed through the foothills to reach the Sacramento River.

The great valley of California formed by the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers in the early years of the nineteenth century was a no man's land traversed by wandering parties of Russians, British, and Americans who trapped the furs of its streams. Glimpses of these early explorers, who included French Canadian employees of the northern fur companies, flash across the pages of the journal in which John Work kept a daily record. From these sparks can be caught brief pictures of the fierce competition engaged in by the various groups in their desire to be first to trap the streams for their rich harvest of beaver and otter pelts.

Entries in Work's journal concerning the American, Ewing Young, are a hitherto unknown source of information on this hardy frontiersman. Work enlarges on exploits already known and contributes additional material on Young's route of 1832-33. Comments upon mission padres, the Russian governor of Fort Ross, Indian chieftains, early English and American residents of California, the attendance of Catholic French Canadians at mass on Easter Sunday, 1833, and a battle with Indians on the San Joaquin add dramatic interest to the daily record.

From Cow Creek the trappers traveled south along the banks of the Sacramento River to the Sutter Buttes where there was a campsite already well known from previous visits to the region. From the Buttes the men attempted to proceed farther south along the slopes of the Sierra foothills to the eastward but were prevented by torrential rains and high water. An excursion to the American River resulted in Work's determination to spend the winter at the Buttes. Here he was joined by another band of Hudson's Bay men who had come south along the Oregon and California coastline by the trail of Jedediah Smith. Michel LaFramboise headed this party of sixty-five people, many of whom were Oregon Indians. They left Fort Vancouver in April 1832 and penetrated the great valley of California as far as French Camp, near what is now Stockton. John Work, as was fitting his rank as gentleman of the company, became leader of the joint party.

When spring approached, the trappers followed the Sacramento River north to a crossing that had been discovered by Ewing Young. They crossed safely to the west bank and proceeded south along the foothills of the Coast Range to the Bay of San Francisco. After visiting Sonoma Mission and Fort Ross they searched the coast line to the north for furs but found none. Prevented from proceeding farther by mountain barriers south of Cape Mendocino, the brigade turned inland and returned to the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, where the party spent the summer of 1833. The southernmost point reached by the trappers was the Stanislaus River.

Disappointments marked the stay of the trappers in the valley. Furs were scarce and the Indians were belligerent, stealing horses at every opportunity. To add to the distress, mosquitoes were almost unbearable, and sickness followed their visitation. Work, completely discouraged, determined to return home with what furs he had collected. LaFramboise had left the party in June when the combined brigades were encamped on Eel River, as he was already overdue at Fort Vancouver. The journey northward of Work's brigade was fraught with peril because of the weakened condition of the members of the company. Only the fact that the Indians of California were afflicted by the same devastating disease saved the brigade from the annihilation which Work feared.

In the main, Work retraced his trail until he reached the confluence of Hat Creek and Pit River. From that point he took another well-used road across the headwaters of McCloud River, passing to the northeast of Mount Shasta to reach an old campsite at Sheep Rock in what is now Siskiyou County. The trail from Sheep Rock led almost directly north to the Klamath River, which Work called the "Sorty" or "Sarty."

The illness with which the members of Work's party were afflicted abated somewhat when the mountains were reached, nevertheless those who were convalescent had become so weakened by their sufferings that travel was very slow. Mountains, however, were climbed and rivers crossed, and the borders of Oregon were attained at last. Here help arrived in the person of LaFramboise, sent out from headquarters to search for Work's long overdue brigade. The food and letters brought by LaFramboise renewed the spirits of the men, and the party struggled on over familiar trails to reach Fort Vancouver on October 31, 1833.

John Work returned from California a very ill man, and for some time he remained with his family at Fort Vancouver to avail himself of the services of Dr. Meredith Gairdner, a London physician, who had reached the Columbia during his absence. With Dr. Gairdner had come Dr. William Fraser Tolmie who was soon stationed at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound where he subsequently became factor. Dr. Tolmie was later to become Work's son-in-law. During the time John and Josette were at Fort Vancouver a fourth daughter was born. She was named Margaret for the wife of Chief Factor John McLoughlin. After Work's partial recovery he was placed in charge of shipping on the Columbia River, which position he held for about three years before he was assigned to the command of Fort Simpson on the Northwest coast. There the Work family resided until 1849.

Glimpses of John Work are obtained from John Tod's chatty letters, particularly when the changes and chances of the fur trade gave opportunity for brief reunions. From Cowlitz Plain, in February of 1840, Tod wrote to Edward Ermatinger:

> Friend Work on his way to Vanc'r last fall was induced to remain here with me two nights during which many a phillipic was held forth on the privations of the Service and this "Cursed Country," but he is as far as ever from coming to any determination about quitting it. You would scarcely know him he is quite bald and altogether has really an old appearance, in short he goes under the name here of "Old Gentleman".[25]

Back in New Caledonia in the upper Columbia region, in 1842, Tod wrote on March 18 to Ermatinger:

> Work from whom I had a letter lately is indeed a queer looking old chap—of his hair there remains but three small elf locks which protrude, far between over his Coat neck

> and the point of his nose is actually coming in contact with that of his chin—he still continues to talk & I suppose will do so till the end of his quitting the Country—but he does not know what to do with his family . . . Poor Work is always complaining and I doubt not he has some cause, but bating [barring?] his delicate state of health which gives me much anxiety at times, I am inclined to believe that not a few of the evils of which he complains are merely imaginary. For instance he frets and worries at the idea of being superceded in his charge by a person subordinate to himself— Now when I leave this—were they to put a shoe-black in my place it would not give me one moment's uneasiness. Another striking fault of our worthy friend, and which tends not a little to increase his habitual anxiety is his want of decision, but if he does not take decisive measures soon to clear out, were it only for a season he will in all probability fall victim to hypochrondisy.[26]

Thus does "Dr." Tod diagnose the ailment of his friend and prescribe a remedy.

Two years later, from his station at Thompson's River in New Caledonia, Tod sent Ermatinger another bit of news of John Work. "Poor dear Work is still in the usual way and as undecided as ever about going out while every letter I get announces the birth of another child."[27]

In 1849 John Work was transferred to Fort Victoria as one of the managers of the Hudson's Bay Company affairs west of the Rocky Mountains, and in 1853 he was appointed by Chief Factor James Douglas a member of the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island. The appointment was confirmed from London in 1854.

> Until the formation of this colony Mr. Work had always expressed a fond intention of spending the evening of his days in his native land, the north of Ireland, but the prospect of a civilized home on this Island under British institutions induced him to settle here where he acquired considerable property and became one of the earliest and most enterprising farmers in Victoria District.[28]

In 1850 John Work purchased a large tract of land near Fort Victoria. All of this land now lies within the limits of the city of Victoria. Street names in certain districts bear names of the Work children, and there is a Work Street and a Wark Street as well.

While residing in Victoria, John Work nevertheless seems to have retained for several years supervision of Fort Simpson, and while so engaged made two or more voyages to the northward in connection with the discovery of gold on Queen Charlotte Island. He was accompanied on one of these trips by "Old Pierre," that is, Pierre Legace, his father-in-law, always a reliable companion on the trail and a veteran of the California expedition.[29]

John and Josette took with them to Victoria their large family and built for their first home a log residence. Later a mansion which they called "Hillside" was erected. This structure is still standing and was located and identified in 1941. It has been altered and removed from its original site in a grove of oak trees to a new situation across the street.

During the residence of the family at Fort Simpson, Work was distressed at the lack of educational facilities for his children. He made the experiment of sending the elder daughters, Jane and Sarah, to Oregon, where they resided for a year in the family of the Reverend David Leslie, a Methodist missionary. But this course did not prove satisfactory, and eventually he took upon himself the task of educating his children. This must have been a rewarding experience, for the occasional references to "the Misses Work" in contemporary letters and newspapers during the early days of Victoria indicate that they were belles in local society and were sought as wives by company officials and newly arrived Englishmen. The first to marry was Sarah, who became the wife of Roderick Finlayson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in December 1849.

But before her marriage lines were read, another interesting and important ceremony took place. When John and Josette met at Fort Colville there was neither civil authority nor clergyman in all the vast Northwest. As was the custom, the simple notification that Josette Legace had been taken under the protection of John Work sufficed for the day and place. In the records of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria are included the earlier records kept by the first chaplains at Fort Victoria in which occurs the following entry:

> Settlement of Victoria, Vancouver Island, in the year 1849,
>
> John Work, at present residing at Fort Victoria but generally of Fort Simpson, N. W. America
>
> and
>
> Josette Legace, at present residing at Fort Victoria but generally of Fort Simpson, N. W. America
>
> were married in this Fort by banns this sixth day of November in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty nine by me, Robert John Staines, Chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company.
>
> This marriage was solemnized between us in the presence of
>
> James Douglas, Chief Factor H.B.C.
> John Tod, Chief Trader.
> JOHN WORK
> her
> JOSETTE X LEGACE[30]
> mark

It was John Work's plan that as each of the daughters married he would present her with a house and lot in Victoria. A small portion of one of these homes is still standing in the form of an adjunct to the Peter Reilly residence at Rock Bay. Family tradition tells that each year John Work ordered from London gowns for his wife and daughters, and that one season the ship brought gold watches as well. One of these is still treasured by a granddaughter. In his later years it was Work's custom, as he strolled through Victoria, to carry in his pockets sweetmeats for the children, not only for his numerous grandchildren, but for other children as well. He was greatly beloved by all who knew him.

On September 1, 1861, John Tod, the ever faithful friend, at that time also living near Victoria at Oak Bay, wrote to Edward Ermatinger, "Our old friends Work and Yale are both well."[31] However, two months later his next letter strikes an ominous note,

> You will be sorry to hear of the long protracted sufferings of our poor friend Work —he has scarcely been out of bed for the past two months—his complaint is a relapse of fever and ague with which he was attacked at Vancouver 27 years ago, and to his medical attendants has appeared a very extraordinary case— Latterly he has become so much re-

duced, and so very weak I have felt it a sacred duty to be constantly with him, administering what little consolation to him I can—it has been no small gratification to myself to think I may have been of some use to him in what I greatly fear may be among his last days—his family have frequently said too that he never appears so cheerful as when I am with him. While sitting at his bedside we have often conversed of You and when I left him only a few hours since I told him it was for the purpose of writing to You, as soon as your name was mentioned, the poor sufferer struggled hard to get up—"Yes do," said he, "and tell him oh tell him that I shall never again see him in this world."

Two days later, on December 23, 1861, Tod continued his letter:

> I have just returned from the house of mourning where lays the body of our departed friend Work.[32]

John Work was buried in the churchyard of Christ Church Cathedral, and his interesting tomb is one of the few that were preserved when the historic site was beautified as a rest park for Victoria residents and visitors.

Josette, surrounded by her children and grandchildren, survived until 1896, residing at "Hillside" in Victorian formality. "An interesting though sad feature of the Legislature on January 31, 1896, was the passage of a resolution of sympathy by the House to the members of the family of the late Mrs. Work."[33]

NOTES

1. Edwin Ernest Rich and W. Kaye Lamb, eds., *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-38,* Hudson's Bay Record Society, *Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series,* IV (Toronto and London, 1941), 356.

2. Harry Dee, "John Work, A Chronicle of His Life and a Guide to His Journals" (thesis submitted for degree of M.A., University of British Columbia, 1943).

3. Rich and Lamb, *loc. cit.*

4. William Downie, *Hunting for Gold, Reminiscences . . . of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Panama* (San Francisco, 1893), p. 223.

5. See sources cited in Alice Bay Maloney, "Early Trails of Northern California" (a paper read at a history seminar at the University of California, April 18, 1941, library of Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Berkeley).

6. Maurice S. Sullivan, ed., *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 108.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

8. Alice Bay Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," California Historical Society QUARTERLY, XIX (December 1940), 308.

9. Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

10. Obituary published in newspaper at the time of John Work's death, in the form of a copy furnished by Dr. Joseph Huggins (no place, no date, but presumably from a Victoria publication).

11. The Edward Huggins Papers in the Soliday Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, include original letters of both uncle and nephew written during the decade 1850-60.

12. Rich and Lamb, *loc. cit.*

13. See Note 10.

14. Dr. Huggins notes three versions of this name: *Legace, Legase,* and *Legasse.* Joseph Huggins to Alice Bay Maloney, Downington, Pennsylvania, February 13, 1941.

15. Mark Sweeten Wade, *The Thompson Country* (Kamloops, 1907), p. 13.

16. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 354.

17. The children of John and Josette Work were:

Jane, born at Fort Colville, December 25, 1827; married William F. Tolmie, Victoria, February 19, 1850.

Sarah, born at Fort Colville, November 1829; married Roderick Finlayson, Victoria, December 14, 1849.

Letitia, born in Idaho in summer of 1831, probably in June; married Edward Huggins, October 21, 1857.

Margaret, born at Fort Vancouver, September 15, 1836; married Edward Jackson, Victoria, February 5, 1861.

Mary, born at Fort Simpson, January or February 1837; married James A. Graham, Victoria, September 5, 1860.

Catherine (Kate), born at Fort Simpson; married Charles W. Wallace, Victoria, February 5, 1861.

John, born at Fort Simpson, 1839.

Josette, born at Victoria, 1843; married E. Prior, January 30, 1878.

David, born at Fort Simpson, June 1846.

Cecelia, born at Fort Simpson, June 1849; married Charles Jones, Victoria, October 12, 1870.

Henry, born at Fort Simpson, 1844 or 1845; died young, in an accident.

Sources: Materials in the Archives of British Columbia, Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.; the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; and the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; also statements of Dr. Joseph Huggins, and Miss Etta [Josette] Tolmie.

18. John Tod to Edward Ermatinger, New Caledonia, February 18, 1830, Edward Ermatinger Papers, 1826-1874 (photostats, Archives of British Columbia, Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.)

19. Same to same, New Caledonia, April 10, 1831, *ibid.*

20. William Stanley Lewis and Paul Chrisler Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work, a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Co., during His Expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest . . . and Life of Work,* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), p. 176.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

22. John Work to Edward Ermatinger, Fort Vancouver, February 24, 1834, *Washington Historical Quarterly,* II (January 1908), 163-64.

23. "Bring Work's family down if he has so directed." John McLoughlin, Fort Vancouver, to McGillivray, at Fort Colville, 1832, no month, no date but context indicates summer (copy in Archives of British Columbia, B223 b8).

24. List of sick people on Work's California expedition, 1832-33 (MS in Archives of British Columbia, Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.).

25. Tod to Ermatinger, Cowlitz Plain, February 1840, Letters to Edward Ermatinger, January 2, 1828, to November 14, 1856 (bound photostats, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria).

26. Same to same, New Caledonia, March 18, 1842, *ibid.*

27. Same to same, Thompson's River, no month, 1844, *ibid.*

28. See Note 10.

29. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of British Columbia* (San Francisco, 1887), p. 346.

30. Information from Pioneer files in Provincial Library, Victoria, British Columbia.

31. Tod to Ermatinger, Letters to Edward Ermatinger.

32. Same to same, December 23, 1861, *ibid.*

33. N. de Bertrand Lugrin (edited by John Hosie), *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866* (Victoria, B. C., 1928), p. 61.

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   - Letters to Edward Ermatinger (from John Work, William Tod, Jane Klyne, and Archibald McDonald, January 2, 1828, to November 14, 1856. Bound photostats.)
   - John Work Correspondence (with Archibald McDonald and others, relating to Fort Langley), 1830-1859.
   - John Work Correspondence (from John McLeod), 1826-1837.
   - Fort Simpson Correspondence Outward, September 6, 1841-October 11, 1844.
   - Fort Simpson Correspondence Outward to 1849. (Bound transcripts.)
   - Fort Victoria Correspondence, Outward, 1849-1861.
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   - John Work Journal, April 15-November 17, 1824. Bound with his journal for July 18-October 28, 1823.
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   - John Work Journal, March 21-May 14, 1825.
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   - John Work Journal, April 3-October 31, 1833.
   - John Work Journal, May 22-July 10, 1834.
   - John Work Notebook, May-June 1834.
   - John Work Journal, December 11, 1834-June 30, 1835.
   - John Work Journal, July 1-October 27, 1835.
3. Miscellaneous:
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Gentleman from Vermont

Royal H. Waller

By Dolores Waldorf

ROYAL HIRAM WALLER, one of San Francisco's early day judges, was an astonishing man to find on any frontier, most of all on the gold rush frontier. He was a staid and pious gentleman who waited thirty-six years before setting out to seek his fortune in far lands.

Costumes and conventions have varied a good many times in the past two thousand years, but the essential characteristics of a conservative have remained the same. Royal H. Waller had them all. He was austere, rockbound in his convictions and afraid of nothing but a scene. He flew against tradition in politics but three times in his life. Each time the nation rocked with the forces which brought the change about.

Royal H. Waller was born on November 29, 1802,[1] in the village of Royalton, Vermont, northeast of the famous Green Mountains. He came into a world temporarily at peace. Napoleon was First Consul of France, immersed in the business of revising the codes and map of conquered Europe. George Washington had been dead less than three years, and Thomas Jefferson had been in the office of President but a little over eighteen months. Andrew Jackson, who in years to come would lure Waller from a New Englander's devotion to the creed of John Quincy Adams, was judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court, with most of his stormy career before him. The nation was still in knee breeches, hardly out of Colonial swaddling clothes. Waller's entire sixty-three years spanned the growth of the new democracy to crisis and the test by fire. He died in the turbulent "carpet bag" days, just a little over a year after the end of the Civil War.

Royal Waller reversed the usual formula for living. The average boy roves until he marries and then settles down. Educated for the law, Waller hung out his shingle in Rutland, Vermont,[2] a small but busy hillside town in the valley cut by Otter Creek between the Green Mountains and the Taconic Range. Just outside of Rutland the famous marble quarries were already producing building stone for a booming nation. Waller was appointed postmaster[3] for Rutland by President Andrew Jackson; and in 1834 he won the hand of Elizabeth A. Hodges, daughter of Dr. Silas Hodges, local plutocrat and political factor since 1783.[4] By all precedent, Royal Waller should have settled down in Rutland for the rest of his life.

But in 1836[5] he and his good wife set out for the "Great West," as Michigan was known in those days. After a journey which must have been a test of endurance, the Wallers arrived in Detroit, a frontier town[6] of some three thousand inhabitants, on the rim of a dense forest. Michigan was not yet a state but had hopes, and Waller quite possibly had received a Federal appointment from President Jackson in anticipation of the territory's admission. This was accomplished on January 26, 1837, by a compromise common in middle America: Michigan came in as a free state and Arkansas as a slave.[7] Less than two months later President Van Bureau took office, and the greatest depression in the history of the new republic crashed down upon the dreams of quick fortune everywhere.

Waller practiced law in Detroit[8] for several years but finally decided to return to the Atlantic States. Some time in 1839 the thirty-seven-year-old attorney opened an office in New York City,[9] where he practiced until 1849. During this time he apparently returned to the Whig party. The Albany regency and the suave domination of redheaded Martin Van Buren were definitely not to Waller's taste. Chastened and penitent, he turned his back upon Jackson's chosen successor. He was through with adventure, he thought.

But the Wallers, now graying and middle-aged, arrived in San Francisco aboard the ship *Normon*,[10] sixty-three days out of Panama, on July 15, 1849. It was a further test of the amazing endurance of these two New Englanders. On the very same day arrived the steamer *California*, but twenty-two days out of Panama. Waller was now nearly fifty, one of the older men in a city full of gold-mad boys and young men.

While most of his fellow men stalked adventure in the dark muddy streets or stood bedazzled in the lurid gambling saloons, Royal H. Waller paid his respects to the Rev. Albert Williams, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who held services twice each Sunday in the little red schoolhouse on the Plaza.[12] During the rest of the week the Reverend Mr. Williams kept school in the little building, which had served as jail, court, and meeting house and was known as the Public Institute. Waller became interested in the school at once and was promptly appointed a director, serving until Mr. Williams found it necessary to abandon the school in the fall of '49,[13] owing to pressure of church work.

The childless Wallers devoted their frustrated parental instincts to every enterprise for the spiritual development of other people's offspring. There were many such opportunities. Churchmen were greatly exercised over the increasing neglect of children by the carefree population. Aside from the need for schools, there was a great need of religious instruction. Royal Waller was one of the early officers of the Pacific Tract Society, founded on February 24, 1850.[14] He became almost at once a sturdy pillar of the First Presbyterian Church.

The ideals and good deeds of the Wallers shine serenely through the rolling smoke and political fury of the town in which they now lived. While it burned five times in 1850, only to rise and burn again, they pursued their determined purpose. They would bring civilization and culture to San Francisco. Nothing could stop them.

Aloof from the tumult of the city in fact as well as in spirit, they lived far up on Montgomery street at the corner of Vallejo.[15] They were so far out from the muddy, planked town that toiling Charley Kimball missed them entirely on his rounds in the fall of 1850 when he was collecting names for the first San Francisco Directory.

The beginning of the eventful year of 1851 found Mrs. Waller sharing with other good Presbyterian ladies in plans for the formation of an orphan asylum society which late in January of that year[16] became the San Francisco Ladies Orphan Asylum Society. Her husband, however, was concerned with more worldly matters and was planning to run for Recorder on the Whig ticket. At the April election, the second[17] to be held under the city charter, nearly six thousand votes were cast.[18] Charles J. Brenham was elected Mayor, and Royal H. Waller became San Francisco's second recorder, succeeding Frank Tilford, the first recorder.[19]

The recorder in those days was a police judge. He heard the usual run of misdemeanor cases: petty theft, trespass, disorderly conduct and drunkenness, disturbance of the peace, and the failure of peddlers and small fry to pay their license fees. Drunks, hoarse-voiced barmaids, sneak thieves from Sydneytown, and highly painted females of obvious occupation paraded through his court room on the lower floor of the City Hall (the former Graham House), a veranda-hung edifice at the corner of Kearny and Pacific Streets.[20]

In the spring of '51, William Walker, editor of the San Francisco *Herald*, was waging relentless war on Judge Levi Parsons, demanding impeachment.[21] Walker put the same fury into his job as editor as he later put into waging the wars of an insurrectionist in Mexico and Nicaragua. But the storms which swirled around the City Hall never touched Judge Waller. He conducted his court with dignity and solemnity, punishing the guilty and releasing the innocent with a final parental word of warning.

But among the fellow citizens of Judge Waller were many who shared Walker's dissatisfaction with the local courts. Men from every strata of society talked of "perjured witnesses" and "corrupted juries."[22] They openly declared that they would do something drastic if the courts continued to release the notorious and guilty. On one side of the benign recorder raged roaring mobs, plundering and terrifying the town. On the other gathered an incipient mob pledged to enforce the law with stout rope if necessary. If the judge had said anything regarding the proposed Committee of Vigilance and the gangs known as "the Hounds" and "the Ducks," he undoubtedly would have cleared his throat testily and declared, "A plague on both your houses!"

But however much he preferred a staid middle course, the tranquil recorder was destined to have a most untranquil term of office. Less than a month after he held his first court, fire wiped out about three-quarters of the town southeast of the City Hall. It started in a paint factory[23] on the opposite side of the Plaza, three blocks south of the City Hall, and burned everything, including the planked streets, from the Plaza to the bay. Nothing remained east of Kearny Street but the far end of Long Wharf, isolated beyond ash and debris strewn water and the charred stumps of the piles upon which that part of the town had rested. With the usual blithe reaction of the frontier this remnant of former splendor was named Pile Island.[24] That was on May 4, 1851, the anniversary of the great fire of May 4, 1850.

Just about two months after the judge took office, a big six-foot Sydney cove named John Jenkins was caught stealing a safe down on the far end of Long Wharf, in the Pile Island region. The Committee of Vigilance went into action, and before morning Jenkins' great hulk was dangling from a rope flung over a beam on the south porch of the old adobe on the upper slope of the Plaza.[25]

Twelve days later a fire started on Sunday morning in a house some four blocks due west of the City Hall on Pacific Street.[26] When it had spent itself, Recorder Waller was without a courtroom and the town without a City Hall. For the remainder of his term Recorder Waller held court in rented rooms, for it was not until the following year that the Jenny Lind Theatre opposite the Plaza was finally sold to the city and made over into a City Hall.[27]

History records one interesting meeting of Recorder Waller with the Committee of Vigilance in 1851. That occurred in August. Judge Waller had accompanied the Rev. Albert Williams, his pastor and good friend, to the jail for religious services, which Williams held there every Sunday at 3:00 P.M.[28] The judge wished to study the reactions of hardened criminals to the softening influence of the Holy Writ.

This visit was shortly after Samuel Whittaker and Robert McKenzie, accused murderers and notorious gangsters, had been forcibly removed from the Vigilance Committee rooms by Governor John McDougal, Mayor Charles J. Brenham, and Sheriff John C. Hays.[29] The raid by the law had taken place at 2:00 A.M., and all but five of the temporarily unvigilant Vigilantes had been sound asleep.

With Recorder Waller and the good Mr. Williams on their pious visit to the jail were the son and daughter of the Presbyterian pastor. It was not a party capable of coping with such scenes of insurrection and violence as soon developed. The dignified gentlemen were mildly surprised but not suspicious when they found a half dozen local citizens waiting in the office of the jail.[30] The men were known to Waller and Williams, but they further explained their presence by announcing that they too had come to study the faces of the prisoners during divine services. This laudable sociological purpose found favor with both the recorder and the minister. The visitors were admitted. The prisoners were ushered into the courtyard, which was well shielded from the world by a tall plank fence.[31] Services began.

During the prayer there was a knock at the door.[32] The guard sang out that none would be admitted, but the door burst open as a mob of sixty grim-faced men poured into the yard.[33] The half dozen authorized visitors had already leapt into action and had both Whittaker and McKenzie in their clutches. Before astounded Judge Waller could blink an eye, the trembling criminals were whisked outside to a waiting carriage.[34]

In the curtained carriage the two miserable wretches were hustled through the littered streets to the Committee's rooms on Battery Street and up the stairs to face trial. The Monumental bell up on Brenham Place gave tongue suddenly to the summons of the Committee, and a great crowd closed in on Battery Street from every side. Less than fifteen minutes after the prayer of the Reverend Mr. Williams had been interrupted, furtive little McKenzie and world-weary Whittaker were standing out in front of the headquarters. Around their necks were two ropes, which dangled from two beams jutting out from the second story above them. The men were pulled up off the ground with such speed and efficiency that not once did they fall.[35] The improvement in the Committee's hanging technique since Jenkins had been liquidated was noticed by all, but it is doubtful that Judge Waller was among the onlookers. He had had quite enough for one day.

Despite the deplorable conduct of his fellow citizens, Judge Waller retained his faith in their ultimate redemption. Whether he declined to run for a second term or was crowded out is not clear. In January 1852 he was succeeded by George W. Baker,[36] who subsequently had his courtroom in Room No. 6 on the lower floor of the New City Hall (the former Jenny Lind Theatre) on Kearny Street opposite the Plaza.[37] Royal H. Waller returned to his law practice, opening offices in Bolton and Barron's Building on Merchant Street near Montgomery. He moved his offices to the Montgomery Block a few years later. His partner was Henry L. Dodge.[38]

On January 26, 1853, the Church Session of the First Presbyterian Church was increased by the installation of Judge Royal H. Waller and Messrs. Thomas Hopkins and Thomas C. Hambly.[39] The next year the judge became a ruling elder,[40] which he remained until his death more than ten years later. Toward the latter part of 1853 Waller became United States commissioner for Ohio,[41] an appointment which he retained for a number of years.

It was in 1854 that Mrs. Waller became one of the managers of the San Francisco Ladies Orphan Asylum Society, which by that time had erected a building of its own, costing about $25,000, and housing twenty-four orphans.[42] Five or six years thence Mrs. Waller would become president of this society.[43]

And in 1854, after examining his conscience carefully, Royal H. Waller changed his politics. He became a candidate for recorder on the "Citizens Reform ticket," a child of the incendiary Native American party.[44] There were some who said the Whigs were deserting their party in quest of political jobs,[45] that the party "was an old dotard."[46] One editor commented, "It is quite clear however that to nominate a Whig ticket is to elect a large majority if not all of the candidates of the Secret Order."[47] So Royal H. Waller had his fling at secret handshakes and secret "dark lantern" meetings. He became recorder for the second time.[48]

By 1854 the Wallers had moved to their last San Francisco home, which stood on Montgomery between Green and Union Streets.[49] Late in that year the Rev. Albert Williams preached his farewell sermon, preparatory to returning to the Atlantic States. The trustees of the church, among them Royal H. Waller, addressed a letter to their pastor asking him to furnish them with a copy of the sermon, so that it might be printed for the congregation. Touched and pleased, their shepherd complied with their request.[50]

Directly after Waller became recorder for the second time, the *Alta* commented, "We have no sympathy with the 'Know Nothings' as a political body . . . but if they have elected their ticket in this city, they have done the city the service of placing in office good and capable men."[51] Royal H. Waller had lost neither his dignity nor his good name by the change.

But sometime during his year of office the spirit of his new party surged over the boundary between a defensive course and that of offense. The theory of priority in office for Native Americans became one of increasing persecution against those who were not natives. From such action the staid Vermonter shrank. Although he probably had never heard of a speech made years before by an obscure Illinois lawyer named Lincoln, he shared the conviction that: "When men take it in their heads today to hang gamblers or burn murderers, they should recollect that in the confusion usually attending such transactions they will be as likely to hang or burn some one who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is . . ."[52]

He returned to his law practice in July 1855[53] and took no active part in politics through the fire and fury of Charles Cora's trial and the violent summer of '56.

Just when he again changed his politics is not clear. In November 1855, he had at least nine political tickets to choose from,[54] all of them variations of the issue of property rights versus the emotional appeal of "black servitude." Lincoln's cry for the preservation of the Union and national unity won the Vermonter, heart and soul. He became such an active Republican that in 1861 President Abraham Lincoln appointed him United States land receiver and pension agent.[55]

By this time he had a new law partner, Joseph H. Moore. They occupied the same law offices, Nos. 1 and 2, Montgomery Block,[56] which Waller had shared with Dodge.

Late in 1863 he resigned as pension agent and was made a paymaster in the United States Army with the rank of major. His headquarters, however, were to be in Salt Lake City. Waller by this time was nearly sixty years old. He had chronic stomach trouble, and the very thought of venturing far into the desert appalled him. Besides, the Mormon City was no doubt a strange and godless place. He had no desire to investigate for himself. He resigned rather than leave San Francisco.[57]

For two years his health failed steadily. Several weeks before his death his doctor told him that nothing more could be done.[58] With characteristic poise, Royal H. Waller prepared himself for the hereafter. His conscience was quite clear, his reward certain. He died on September 29, 1866, aged sixty-three years and ten months.[59] The *Alta* declared that he had been conscious to the last.[60] His passing was as dignified as his presence in court.

On the day of his death, Queen Emma of Hawaii was visiting the Cliff House, watching old Ben Butler, a gigantic seal, cavort about the Seal Rocks. A comic young fellow by the name of Mark Twain was also in town, giving lectures on the Sandwich Islands and other subjects. The Queen, who was in mourning, did not attend.[61]

San Francisco courts adjourned out of respect to Royal Waller.[62] His funeral services were held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Stockton Street.[63] The *Alta* bemoaned his passing: one by one the pioneers were departing from a community which could "ill afford" to spare them.[64]

The widow of Royal Hiram Waller lost no time in returning to her family home in Rutland, Vermont, where her sister Mary Ann, also a widow, awaited her. Mary Ann's husband had been Solomon Foot, United States Senator from Vermont, who had died in 1865.[65] There the two sisters passed the rest of their lives with their memories.

But Royal H. Waller was not forgotten in San Francisco. In the course of time a street was named for him,[66] which bears his name to this day. It is some twenty blocks long, running from the San Francisco State College grounds on Buchanan Street west to Stanyan. About midway it is cut by Buena Vista Park. It is a street of tall old wooden houses, which date from the seventies through the nineties, just the sort of a street that should bear the name of a gentleman from Vermont.

NOTES

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24. San Francisco *California Courier*, June 19, 1851, 2/3.

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26. San Francisco *Alta California*, June 23, 1851, 1/1.

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28. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

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31. San Francisco *California Courier*, August 25, 1851, 2/2.

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The Journal of David Jackson Staples

Edited by Harold F. Taggart

THERE ARE many acounts of the migration of the forty-niners, and those best known concern expeditions which, because of lack of proper leadership or adequate preparation, experienced great difficulties. On other hand, many groups came through after months of hardships and dogged persistence and entered California with no fanfare, to be absorbed among the nameless thousands. The journal of David Jackson Staples, published here, for the first time, is the story of an expedition for which the members carefully prepared and which probably typifies the experiences of the great majority.[1]

Twenty-six men of Boston and Newton, Massachusetts, spurred on by the cry of "Gold," formed an association to go to California for the purpose of bettering their economic lot. They bought the bark *Helen Augusta*, filled it with supplies and sent it around the Horn. Soon after, they left via the overland trail, accompanied by a physician and supplied with money to buy equipment along the way. David J. Staples, a member of the party, was born in Medway, Massachusetts, on May 3, 1824, the son of John and Dorcas (Reed) Staples. Left an orphan at eleven years of age, he worked at various jobs—as a farmhand, shoemaker, millhand, and machinist. On April 20, 1848, he married Mary Pratt Winslow, a descendant of Edward Winslow, who came to America on the *Mayflower* and was a governor of the Plymouth colony.[2] Together with the other twenty-five men, David Staples left Boston on April 16, 1849. The following is his day by day account of the journey.

JOURNAL OF D. J. STAPLES

Memorandom Book on the Journey to Cal.

Apr 16, 1849 Left the city of Boston a member of the Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association bound for *Calafornia* for the purpose of bettering our condition on money matters and seeing the country. I left home with regret as it is no easy matter for me to leave *wife home friends* and attachments. the company numbered 26 members made up of people from Boston an Newton.[3] We started from the Western Depot at ¼ past 8 oclock had a car to ourselves through to Albany being detained in Springfield two hours we arrived at Albany at 9 oclock. Nothing of note occurred on the way. We now begin to see the developments of the character of the men. We are strangers with few acceptions, but a remarkable trait in Americans is to have confidence and respect for each other and only on being disappointed or deceived do they distrust their ability or zeal to opperate together. We shall know more of each other after we have passed the bounds of civilization and camped together on the Western Prara.

Apr 17' We left Albany at noon on the emigrant train for Buffalo having procured tickets through to *Cincinnatti* on this road we managed to have a car to ourselves. We passed through a beautifull country from Albany to Buffalo Many fine towns and some citys We arrived in Buffalo on the 17' at 2 oclock proceded direct on board a fine Steamer "name Baltic" bound for Sandusky city. We arrived in Sandusky on the 20th having had a very rough time this being the first trip of the Boat this season the officers and crew were nearly all sick as well as a large number of the passangers. I was as sick as need be and did not get over it under a day or two after landing this place has the appearance of having grown up in a short time.

Apr 21st We left Sandusky at five oclock A. M. for Cincinnatti. the first part of the day we passed over a new country houses mostly made of logs and to a New England man there is nothing verry enticeing about *them* however this must eventually be a populous country. We arrived in Cincinnatti at 9 oclock P. M. put up at the Henry House a first class *hotell* here we stopped over Sunday On Sunday we went to Church most of us we attended meeting at the Christian Baptist and Orthordox heard good preaching at both places.

Cincinnatti is a great city on the Banks of the Ohio on nearly level land with the exception of that part next the river which is the same as the banks of all the western rivers quite Bluff there is some high ground back of the Citty on which some of us stroled here we had a chance to view Kentucky on one side Ohio on the other one free the other [a] slave state Slave labor cannot compete with free labor in making things look thrifty.

Monday Apr 23' 1849 Today we engaged passage in the Steamer *Griffin Yeatman* for St. Louis. We also bought two waggons for our trip across the plains having sattisfied ourselves we could transport more goods with the same number of mules than we could if we packed mules having got all our baggage on board the Steamer and all being redy we left at 7 P. M. and moved off down the river.

Apr 24' This morning was delightfull and a New England[er] feels a peculiar sattisfaction on moving down such a river as the Ohio the trees were leaved out and the banks of the river was beautifull We had a good table set on the boat and a verry fine Captain there was but little change in pasing down the river One thing of note was being let through the locks at Louisville the rapids in the river near this place are such as make it necessary for boats of large size to go through the canal and locks at this place we saw Porter the Kentucky giant who stands 7 ft 8 in high he has a fowling piece 10 ft in length and such a cane— he is quite feble now.

Apr 25' Arrived at the mouth of the Ohio at 10 oclock A. M. touched at *Cairo* The vilages west and south look as though they lacked New

England enterprise no prety fenses round their houses and they lack a finish so it looks to me. We started up the mighty *Missippi* the water was more mudy than the Ohio this afternoon we saw a large island covered with wild geese all the rifles on board were soon in requisition but to no purpose as we did not come near enough the men on board seemed to enjoy murdering the ducks as we passed near a *cove.*

Apr 27' This morning by the recommendation of our Dr quite a number of us went down to the Wheel house for the purpose of getting a shower Bath from the spray of the wheel it was a good idea as was prooved by our feelings during the day after While I passed in the Wheel house Brother Freds dog *Carlo* thinking (to all appearance) I had gone overboard jumped over and was soon far in the rear we saw him head for the shore and Brother Fred and I got set on shore to go back and search for him this was 7 miles below St. Mary's Landing on the Misouri side we started through the timbered bottoms we searched in vain for him it was accessive hot and having nothing to eat it was a luxury to find a log cabin where we got a little corn bread and butter-milk after eating a lunch we started up the banks of the river for the landing in the bottom lands water stands in little pools and on pasing through the Musquitoes would arris in swarms and commence their work of drawing blod in hot haste they were as bad as some of the Dr's in times past We hailed two steamboats in the afternoon they were New Orleans boats and asked us 5 dolls to take us up to St Louis it was only 60 miles and our fare from Cincinnati to that place was only $4. We concluded to stay in the landing and take a smaler boat we put up at a tavern such as is common out here and had another opportunity to observe western maners

Apr 28 We took passage up the river in the *Oriental* an infirm boat at $3. and arrived in St Louis at 4 A. M. on the 29 at light we went in serch of our party. We found them on board the steamer *Bay State* and nearly ready to move up the river to Independance. here they bought the provisions for our overland consumption and hurried on, on account of the report that the cholera being quite prevelent there was four cases on the boat that arrived the day before St. Louis is a large place and is destined to be the great point for emigrants to start from here they can purchase provisions cheap and a general out fit for a good deal less money than at Independance. This being Sunday we thought best to have a meeting there being a minister with the Granite State Company we invited him to preach and it was a pleasant sight to see me[n] from all parts of the Union come to gather in the Cabin and worship alike one *God*[4] We made good headway up the river

Monday 30th Today we have moved on well occasionally getting aground on the shoales this river is full of these places and requires the best of pilots to get a large boat up to St. Joseph the destination of our boat

May 1st Nothing of note has occured today We have learned there is a great difference between the Captain of this boat and the Captain of the *Griffin Yeatman* this one is a real half cent Yankee We live verry plain but healthy. the banks of the river look more ruged than the Ohio the water is verry Mudy but quite sweet we observed quite a number of natural chimneys ricks [sic] piled up as though the hand of man had been opperating on them Nature works out some queer shapes we got aground several times but got off without trouble

May 3rd We arrived at Independance this morning at 2 oclock A. M. having got our loading on shore at sunrise the directors started up to see the town and make some enquiries about matters the town is three miles from the landing it has the appearance of haveing grown up in one night like "Jonah's gourd" we concluded to camp 1 mile below the town near a small stream and camped out for the first time in my life we bought no mules today thinking it advisable to look about some first

Friday May 4th 1849. Today we have made further investigation on general matters we purchased 3 mules and engaged one waggon

May 5' The directors are at loss to know what kind of mules to purchase. today we purchased 7 American mules but think they shall generally buy Spanish mules

Sunday May 6' I together with two more started out some three miles for a pair of mules No one knowes how vexatious it is to manage wild mules these were as wild as *Arabs* and we were tired enough

Monday May 7th. Today we commenced in earnest we bought 30 Spanish mules and at night our camp began to look like starting but to new beginers business crowds in every form waggons to buy harnesses to fit &c &c

Tuesday May 8' Mr. [J. A.] Hough and I started in the country to purchase a few horses and chains it being next to impossible to get any blacksmithing done We directed our course to the town of Liberty Clay county Mo. We bought a verry fast horse for 55 dolls such as would bring in Mass $200, quick the land here is a good deal prara and most of the horses raised on them will skim over the ground like a bird we put [up] at a fine tavern and receved the best of treatment.

May 9 Friend Hough and I started out in the country to find a few horses the day was a fine one and we enjoyed the ride much we purchased 3 horses at an everage price of 40 dolls, here we bought our chains and whiffle trees as well as shoes for our mules packed our chains on a mule and started for camp we arrived late at home on account of being detained at the ferry all well in our party but they are dying with cholera all around us

May 14' Tuesday From the 9th to the 14th was spent in preparing for the journey all being ready we made a final move from Grove Camp as we called it at Independance We moved out 13 miles where there was plenty of grass the mules wild and roads mudy it was hard for man and beast

15th we lay by and arranged our loads, etc.

May 17' Today we divided the rideing horses by lotery they were all brought up and numbered horses and mules and as bad luck would have it I drew the smallest Spanish mule we had in the lot it was a cream coloured one I riged on a Mexican sadle and trimmings and mounted being full six feet tall I must have presented a picture truly rediculous my feet came within less than a foot of the ground he used his best endeavours to throw me off but failed. and many a hearty laugh the boys have had at my expense today

My friend Hough was more unfortunate haveing been throwed several times from a similar article of horse flesh We got ready and moved 7 miles over a very rough road and crossing quite a stream here the hard work comes for men lifting and prying out of the mud waggons we camped on the edge of the prara and a fine sight it was as far as the eye could reach nothing but a roleing plane during the day we had two poles (or toungs) broken by our mules being wild and teamers not acquainted with driving we camped tired and hungry

Saturday May 18' We spent the first part of the day in mending our waggons We passed on 13 miles over the most beautifull country man ever beheld Prara pinks were in abundance and the odor arrising from them delightfull to one's allfactory's One that has never seen these plains can form no idea of their vastness it looked like an ocean of prara Only one thing we observed to mar the scene that was quite a number of new made graves and the voluntary thought and wish was that he had laid up for himself treasure in heaven in seeking treasure across the plains and the thought naturally occur it may be our lot next but large hope and stout hearts will do much towards sustaining us we arrived in camp late found water but no wood This I expect will be our great trouble in passing over this woodless country

Sunday May 20' We felt it our duty to move today as we had no wood to cook with and poor water we traveled some 12 miles to what is called Indian Creek this is inhabited by the Shawnees Most of them have left their houses on the road on account of the Emigrants haveing the Cholera We saw one half breed quite inteligent he said "great many go never get there" here we found wood and a fine spring here we found quite a number of emigrating parties before we got onharnessed there came up a shower and such showers as they have on the prara beats all I ever saw. We put up our tents but were blessed with a soft bed by the ground being well soaked this is one of the beauties of camp life

Monday, May 21' We got started at 8 oclock as it is a great job to harness up wild mules We stoped at noon baited our mules on the banks of a fine creek. Moved on till six oclock and camped haveing had a hard days work for our mules it being mudy by last nights shower

May 22' Today we crossed the Wakarusa river the banks were steep we had to let our waggons down by ropes and hired some Santa Fee oxen to get our teems up the opposite bank there is heavy timber for a half mile on each side of the river for three miles we had to pass over a wet bottom prara had to double teems and much of the way the wheels went down to the hub however we have got through it at dark and camped on fine rise on the high prara tonight for the first time our ears have been saluted by the howling of wolves about our camp.

May 23' Today we have traveled over a roling prara and as we passed along on the ridge we could see to the right and left where the streams were by the lines of wood.

May 24th Today we made a good drive haveing traveled full 25 miles We camped on a small stream at 5 oclock Mr. [Walton C.] Felch and I started out to hunt wolves we heard nearby We saw them but could not get a shot at those fiends of the prara they are a redish color and all the evening our camp has been kept awake by their howling Today I have been taken with the diarea comon now on the prara and have been kept quite busy attending to the wants of nature having 25 passages today

May 25th 49 Got an early start at 11 oclock we came to a small creek which was much swolen by the late rains here we had to unload our waggons and draw them across by ropes we got our goods over in our rubber boat and found it to be valuable we got all over at six oclock and camped on the left bank at sunset we were saluted by the screching of a dozen Indians who were riding at full gallop towards our camp they were *Potawatamas* and only wanted wisky We had none to give them and they went of soon without giving us any trouble Today I have been followed up with the diarea as hard as yesterday it soon weakens one I hope to be better tomorrow

May 26' Today we got started early and after an hours travel came to the Kansas river at the lower crosing here we had to be ferryed over in flat boats owned by half breeds the wind blew and we could not persuade them to take us over till tomorrow Several Indians have visited us today all Friendly

Sunday 27th 49 This morning we got ferryed across at a cost of 10 cents a head for our animals and $1.00 for our waggons we got all over at noon and passed out on a wet prara some six miles on to high land we got into camp at 9 oclock haveing to double our teems to get along the last waggon had got in carralle when the mules took fright and broke a toung to our best waggon This morning George Winslow was taken with diarea and vomiting this evening feels some better at the crossing we met a party returning haveing lost a husband father and Friend of Cholera We bought a pr of mules and a wagon of them the mules we paid $200 pr pair and noble fellows they are to the great trouble to getting along is our loads are [too] heavy for such bad roads While at the crossing we saw a good many Indians We saw a Cheif of the *Caw* nation he behaved with a good deal of dignity he was full six feet tall strait as an arrow head shaved all but a top not he asked for coffey tea sugar &c our camp tonight is on a beautifull rise with a creek on our right and the Kansas on the left a grand scene for a painter

Monday May 28' This morning was spent in mending our waggon we passed on till six oclock over roling prara and camped near a good spring new species of flowers continue to attract our attention distance traveled 12 miles

May 29' We got started early this morning I feel better today and am in hopes to feel better still by being carefull what I eat George is better to owing to the attention of our Dr. 11 oclock A. M. we are at Soldir Creek the east bank of this stream is verry steep we let our teems down by ropes and were fortunate in getting over in an hour We drove out to grass through the timber and got some diner George eat some of a minute puding we moved on an hour and George was taken vomiting and cramp the worst kind of a cholera attack We stoped immediately no water within a half mile or wood we hope for the best in his case but fear the worst this evening he is out of his head

Wednesday May 30 This morning George is some better but it is doubtfull if he lives I watched with him last night I am near sick in consequence at 2 oclock he went into a calaps state and it was with greatest exertion we succeeded in bringing him to. We all gave him up but he would not beleve he was near his end we laid by today to give George quite repose This evening George is better and we have some hopes of his recovery this afternoon Hough and I went back 10 miles to the Potawattoma tradeing post for some articles for the association this is quite a town some six or eight stores there filled with nearly everything wanted to eat drink or wear While there a shower came up and we could not get across the river till dark and then only by paying double price we got in camp late

Thursday May 31st 1849 Today our sick men are better we still stay in camp so not to expose them this afternoon four of us started for the Kansas with our sein to fish We tried but caught only one we returned and I lost my revolver on my way to camp bad luck hope to find it in the morning

Friday June 1st George and Easterbrook are better this morning I took an early start to serch for my pistol after looking an hour I found it good luck I picked a fine bunch of flowers and returned to camp well sattisfied today we made up beds in the waggons for our sick and moved on slowly we camped on a small creek plenty of wood distance traveled today 12 miles our men stand it well

June 2 Today the men are better we have traveled over a roling prara some of the most beautifull landscape views I ever saw it looked as though some wealthy monarch of the East had spent a fortune in laying it out today we could not camp till late on account of not finding water and wood we camped at sun set on the banks of a small stream George is tired and quite sick I am to watch with him tonight distance traveled today 16 miles

Sunday June 3 We concluded to move on a short distance we got started at 11 oclock George is not much better it is hard to ride all day we passed some verry bad places lowered our waggons down the steep pitches it is the most vexing life man ever led tonight while eating supper a German party came along and pasing a bad place over goes a waggon wheels broke all up men cross and tired We camped early on George's account he being tired distance traveled 15 miles Just as we were coming into camp one of our toungs got broke and so it goes

Monday June 4th This morning was spent in mending our waggons this afternoon we started on over roling prara with but little to relieve the monotony except the great number of plover and prara hens that start up at every rod we camped today on a small stream at half past five distance traveled 10 miles

Tuesday June 5th This morning we were all up for an early start most of our party indulge in bathing when they have a chance and this morning they looked like ducks dipping in the limpid stream we got started at six oclock crossed we passed the Big Vermilion before noon moved on at a rapid pace and arrived at the Big Blue at 4 oclock the stream was low and we were soon over we camped just out of the timber near a fine spring that run a stream out of the bank of rock there is a rich smell on this river resembles the odor of a strawberry bed here some of our party caught a pail full of fine fish distance traveled according to Fremont 25 miles[5] George is still improving fast and with good roads will not retard our progress any Esterbrook is got out about camp

Wednesday June 6th This morning our sick are still better we got an early start traveled 15 miles before noon came to a small creek of poor water but learned by one of Fremont's guides that near by there was a fine spring we did not find it not knowing where to look we moved on till four when one pair of mules in the last team gave out from hard driving Mr Wilson and I started back with an extra pair and a shower coming up in a hurry we had to stand and take it and such a shower is seldom seen one continual stream of lightning all about us some of the men had quite a shock after the shower we found the team and started for camp the first team having got in just as the shower commenced we got in at 9 oclock wet and tired and hungry distance traveled today 25 miles

June 7th George got cold in the shower last night we started late it was quite mudy in consequence of the hard rain last night the sun has been very hot today we stoped two hours at noon to bait we camped late tonight on account of not finding water to cook with George is worse this evening.

Friday June 8th Last night I watched with George and there was a perceptible change going on all night I laid down this morning to sleep was waked at 8 oclock and we thought he was dying He did not know us and we all gathered round him in the tent to witness the last strugle of breath leaving his body and a most solmn sight it was at 15 minutes past nine he ceased to breathe and God only knows the feeling in our camp and particularly his friends away from home & kindred with but 3 acceptions as melancholy an event as was ever witnessed by man but all and everything was done to save him but it was of no avail and we must content ourselves with the thought that Gods ways are best yet we cannot see as he see's our ways are not his ways and our thoughts not his thoughts the company feel it hard

Uncle Jesse [Winslow] and I searched this forenoon for a stone that could be engraved we found a large sandstone and we engraved his name and where from and age on it in good deep large letters his grave was dug in a conspicuous place on the main road 30 miles west of the Big Blue river on the right [side] of the road near the junction of three tracks and a small stream runing south from it at 5 oclock in the afternoon all being ready we assembled in the Carrale the corps brought out of the tent Mr. Burt was requested to read scripture he read a psalm and the last chapter of Ecleasiastees Mr. [A. C.] Sweetser made an appropriate prayer there was not a dry eye in the group of sunburnt faces we formed a procesion and followed him to his last resting place each man deposited a green bough as a token of respect and the first earth was put on him at six oclock we returned to camp each praying the like never to happen again in our number

Saturday June 9th This morning we moved on and it was with reluctance we left the grave of Brother George but such is life we passed today over a more level prara we have traveled today in company with a large party from New York and Verginia We passed today what appeared to be the bed of once a river in this bed we found some specimans of cactus one I noticed the center stalk had Eighty buds and blossoms here I killed a rattlesnake the first I have seen we camped tonight near wood and water distance traveled 25 miles

Sunday June 10th We started this morning before 5 oclock and moved six miles to the banks of the Little Blue here we camped for the day Brother Fred and I took a walk down the river to see if there was any game we saw one deer and several wild turkeys Mr Evens [Benjamin C. Evans] was taken sick today with diarea

Monday June 11 '49 We had a hard shower this morning set a tire to one of our wheels and started at 11 oclock we have traveled today on the banks of the Blue plenty of wood nothing of note today. We camped near the party we traveled with yesterday distance 12 miles

June 12 Today we have traveled on the bottom of the Blue the country grows more level as we advance this morning a fine wild turkey ran across the road and the Virginia party saw two antelopes we camped on the blue Evans is quite sick tonight with diarea

Wednesday June 13 Last night we had a hard rain which makes the road bad today we broke a pole in the mudhole we camped early distance 12 miles

June 14 Today we left the Blue with regret passed up on a table lands I saw a fine deer and followed him a mile but no use they can see all about them on these plains we camped off the main road ½ mile good grass but no wood or water this evening we broke an axle tree to one of our best waggons in a bad crossing vexing to keep stoping to mend waggons we noticed a new kind of flower today but not being a botanist could not give it a name it was a deep orange distance traveled today 20 miles

Friday June 15' This morning was spent in putting in the axle tree we got started at 10 oclock after traveling three hours we came in sight of the Platte River we stoped to bait while here a guide to a Washington City party came up we invited him to dine with us and gathered such information as we could about the route he said we were some 15 miles from Fort Kearny[6] a new one haveing been built in a year or two we camped within 5 miles of the fort this is in the Pawnee Teretory we have not seen one yet they keep off the main road on account of the great number passing

Saturday June 16 This morning we moved up to the fort it is made of turf with the acception of one frame house under erection there is two companys of infantry one of dragoons stationed here to protect emigrants and keep Indians straight there is a boarding house kept here The Officers board there and we availed ourselves of the opportunity to get a good diner once more it was equal to any "Fremont" diner in Boston to us

June 17 Sunday Mr Evans is quite smart and we stop here to keep Sunday this morning the Washington city came up and also a German company we left back a party of five one waggon wants to join us has been traveling with the Washington company but there is two much quarreling in it to suit them three brothers by the name of Rohrer one Simmons one Morford We have given them permission to travel a day or two to see how we like each other this evening we had a meeting prayers were made by Mr Crist and Sweetser and hymns sung it seemed like home to hear old hundred

June 18' Monday We left the fort and passed up on the river bottom saw several antelope and a most beautifull flower a deep red the root of which when cooked tastes like potatoes and makes a good pickle we camped off the river and to get water we had to dig a well we got good water by diging three feet distance traveled 15 miles

Tuesday June 19' We made a good drive nothing of note made 25 miles.

Wednesday June 20th Today has been hot we have had to lay by at noon three hours We have to eat hard bread and make our coffee with Buffalo chips for the first time We look now anxious for Buffallo distance 20 miles

June 21 We have made good time today and camped near wood and water We have seen quite a number of Cactus beds blossom pale yellow distance 20 miles

Friday June 22 The river bottom narrows and the Bluffs grow higher today noon we saw distinctly on the opposite side of the river two Buffallo two of Rohrer's party and the Dr of our party went after them returned had a chase but did not get one we camped late without wood or water except what we brought from the river a mile distance 23 miles

Saturday June 23 We are now in the Sioux country and this afternoon one of the Virginia party shot a large Buffalo they gave us as much as we wanted a party of our men went out from our camp but did not get one We camped near a running brook for Sunday distance traveled 20 miles

Sunday June 24th This morning before sunrise the cry of Buffalo was raised and every man was out to see one of those animals we had long looked for within a mile of our camp were fifteen large ones feeding and back on the Bluffs a mile or two there were hundreds on every hill top it was two strong a temptation for us who had never seen any game larger than a patridge Several of us took our rifles and went out to get a nearer view of the "elephant" We had gone a couple of miles and came direct on a large hurd we layed behind a rise of ground some 30 rods from them We watched them some time and we were getting ready to shoot when they discovered us and off they started on a kind of a clumsy gate I had the sattisfaction of putting a ball in one of those Old Bulls just back of the foreshoulder he hobled off evidently feeling worse for the opperation None of the rest fired and my ball being light did not suddenly stop him there was one seen in the direction he went off some hour after streched out for good they will go a good ways with a half ounce ball in them unless it passes through their lounges to prove this Mr. Nichols Esterbrook and I could not give it up, so, we started for another drove some mile and half off we crept up to them as near as ten rods and all three of us put a ball in an old bull he made off ran more than a half mile before he showed signes of haveing been hit. we followed him and had the sattisfaction of seeing him lay down We got near enough and let him have three more balls and he never tried to rise but yealded up the ghost this was my first attempt at Buffalo hunting We skined up a place took out a few pounds of the best stake and returned to camp at noon we went after them on foot and was tired traveling over these sand bluffs on coming to camp it was all excitement and we soon had a party of ten to go out and bring in the Meat We found a hurd near by the one we shot and could not deny ourselves the pleasure of one charge we started and our horses entered into the spirit of the chase and we were soon along side of a mighty herd full five hundred darting over the prara at full speed such feelings of delight I never realized before Brother Fred had the pleasure of one charge mounted on an Indian poney on fireing the horses turned as though they were trained to the chase after loading four mules with the best of the meat we left well satisfied with our first attempt.

Monday June 25th This morning we were moveing in season mules well rested we came to the crossing of the South fork of the Platte river at eliven oclock we baited an hour and commenced to cross the stream here was full a mile wide this crossing is a new one and 20 miles below where Bryant crossed[7] the afternoon was spent in getting our teems over haveing to lighten considerable and packed it over on horses and mules the quick sand and deep places rendered it almost impossible for the teem to draw we camped on the opposite side of the river without wood and verry few chips this evening the Verginia company are crossing and a government waggon is on the opposite side dis 10 m

Tuesday June 26th. This forenoon we passed up the left bank of the South Fork soon after noon halt we struck the bluffs to cross over to the north fork at the place we crossed to it the two rivers were not more than three miles apart but verry high hills between we camped tonight near the river without wood but plenty of musquitoes

Wednesday June 27th Today the road has been some sandy not anything of note till just as night several of us started off for some wood a mile distant it proved to be a few willows the worst of wood to burn. we found a spring of cold water three feet deep and such things are a rarity in these parts we drank harty tonight we camp near the river and of all imaginable pests the musquitoes excede all at this place this is the hardest camp we have had to sleep we expect to be troubled the rest of the way on this river. We have noticed some new kinds of cactus the most most abundant kind is of a pale yellow blossom and they grow in large beds as many as a hundred buds and blossoms on one root distance traveled today 20 miles

Thursday June 28' 49 Today has been rather hard drive we have passed over a good deal of hardy sandy Bluffs today we have found wood and three the finest springs man ever quenched his thirst at this afternoon we had one of the hardest pulls we have ever had to get on a rise before going into ash hollow this is a most beautifull place we found the Verginia party camped in the mouth of the hollow Mr Crist the gentleman that joined us at Independance went to see them they asked him to take some supper he sat eating and one of the party had a revolver and by accident it went off the ball passing through his arm struck a rib and passed round saving his life whereas if it had struck between his ribs it would have killed him we camped near by distance traveled 23 miles

Friday June 29' Today we lay by on Mr. Crist's account he is better and we hope to move tomorrow our cooks have been busy baking here plenty of wood and good spring of water we have now filled a wheel today and rearranged our loads all well in camp now but the shot man

Saturday June 30' This morning were moveing early fixing Mr. Christ a bed in a waggon We passed on over a sandy hard road the Bluffs coming down to the river the country grows more sterile and the grass poorer we camped at 5 oclock distance traveled 15 miles. Just at night a white wolf passed a head of the train I took a rifle and after following him a short distance I put a ball in his hip which stoped his progress our dog had a clinch with him his teeth were like sheers when they came together this is the first one we could get near enough to shoot at

Sunday July 1st We have commenced this month by a fine drive we camped on a fine creek of clear water and good grass nothing of note we passed a large company who were laid by for Sunday distance traveled 25 miles

Monday July 2 We got an early start this morning made our noon halt opposite Court House bluff after noon several of our party went over to take a look at it I climed to the top and engraved my name and such a view man seldom sees we overtook the train just before camping camped tonight on a Bluff two miles from the river no wood or water distance traveled 25 miles

Tuesday July 3 Last night two men that formerly belonged to the Dayton Ohio company came to camp and wanted to stop the night with us their party has broken some gone back these were returning hartily sick of the trip this morning we were of in good season we camped some 5 miles before reaching chimney rock this we thought worthy of a visit it being one mile of the main road before reaching it we passed several new made graves we found a spring near the rock coming out of a clay bluff cold and reviving we climed up the base of chimney rock some two hundred feet engraved our names and returned to the party they halted at noon near the river five miles beyond the rock good grass this afternoon we left the river near Scott *Bluff*[8] here we *filled* our water tanks We camped near the Bluffs some four miles from the river distance traveled 25 miles

July 4th 1849 This is the nation's birthday and as americans our liveliest thoughts are called out in gratitude for the day that declared us an independant people We could not celebrate it much in the usual way but our thoughts were at home and we made the hills ring with our cheers for the day and fond ones at home small arms were used to make a noise We halted at noon near a verry cold spring just before crossing the Bluffs here we found there was a log house up [of] a Black smith who kept a store he bought his goods of Emigrants who find they have to much and most of them do. We sold him a bag of coffee pork he would not take as a gift has made a good deal of money by mending wagons &c. he has a squaw of the Sioux tribe for a wife here we passed two large companys who were repairing just after leaveing this tradeing post we came up on a Bluff and we beheld for the first time the rocky Mountains one prominent peak arose far above the surrounding hills and was a majestick sight we had longed to see it some weeks we camped tonight near a creek of fine water and good grass distance 20 m

Thursday July 5th We were off in season this morning this country grows more sterile and on the left bank of the river nothing but sand hills were seen we were most fortunate in coming up to a capital spring in time for dinner it is the largest we had seen furnishing quite a stream and a tributary to the river good grass on the banks of the creek after dinner our boys took the sein and caught seventy fine fish out of the clear spring water they were nice and hard I am surprised that Bryant did not discover it we have made a long drive today camped at half past Eight poor grass the grass seems much more parched up here than it has been back distance traveled today 30 miles good

Friday July 6th We acerttained by a party returning that we were near the fort We started early came up to the crossing at 10 oclock there were several parties crossing after waiting an hour we had our turn this crossing was on Larime near the junction of the *platte* the water ran verry rapid and was near three feet deep we got all safely over without wetting our load much we crossed opposite Ft John[9] one mile below Ft *Larima*[10] these places are nothing but a mud wall with quarters for a company of a hundred men the government have lately bought it of the A. Fur Com and are getting ready to create a new one near by here we saw some hundred or two waggons deserted to pack and pork was piled up all about. We found that we had Eight hundred [lbs.] more of the swine than we should actually need we sold it for ¾ cents pr pound we moved three miles from the crossing up the river and camped near a spring calculating to stop tomorrow to rest our mules and repair our waggons there has not been any rain here for 35 days and the roads are verry dry the wheels are shrinking tires get loose distance traveled 8 miles

Saturday July 7th This day has been spent in overhauling loads and repairing waggons and the members limited to one hundred pounds including arms ammunition &c We find we can lighten considerable in old chains barrels and everything is ready for an early start tomorrow. We found a mile from camp a man left by some party he was deranged and sick with a verry bad diarea our Dr gave him some medicine and something to eat but could not get him to camp he is entirely naked and sun burnt a pitiable object we shall take some measures to get him to the Fort the party that left him are verry censurable hardly human. This evening it looks like rain hope to have a shower. Our camp is pleasantly set out with cactus the pineapple and a new species to me having a verry fine red flower today our boys picked quite a mess of wild currents and for sauce they are a treat

Sunday July 8th We camped yesterday three miles from the fort on the Platte we got our tire reset and this morning we were off in season I went over to carry letters to the Fort our party kept up the river road I struck across the Bluffs by "Warm Spring"[11] laid down by Bryant the upper one was as clear a spring as was ever seen, discharging a large quantity of water I came up with the party at two o'clock haveing taken the wrong road four miles we now begin to find it uphill work as we near the Mounts we passed a creek that had the appearance of lately haveing been swollen moveing some of the bushes and drift wood we found large quantities of *hail* the stones after a warm day as large as pees we camped tonight on a rise some 20 miles from the *fort* fair grass the road has not run as formerly near the river it keeps up today on the bluffs more, occasionly comeing in sight of the river We have passed one party with *Oxen* distance traveled 22 m.

Monday 9th This morning we were off in season at 9 oclock we came to cold clear spring these springs are soule reviveing as we come uppon them unexpected five miles from this spring we came to fine creek water clear and cold abundance of grass timber &c this was the best nooning place we have had here we found a party throwing away their bacon to lighten their loads we met several return[ing] trains all ox teams report poor grass ahead we traveled late and camped on the Platte a few miles above where the river makes through the ridge called by Fremont the *Cannon*[12] good grass today we passed several parties of ox teams now we have the advantage of oxen distance 25.

Tuesday, July 10th 1849 Today we have had a verry uneaven road working around Laramie. at noon hour we had to run of the road some half mile side of a small creek Wood water and grass here we reset several of our tire the sun is hot and air verry drying the wood work to our waggons shrink verry much we moved at four oclock we camped tonight on the banks of a small stream not a spear of grass this is the first time our teems have had to be tied up without some feede the guide book says some 17 miles we find a stream grass and water we have found several glorious good springs the water boiling up out of the clear sand we found camped here severall parties that passed us some time since while laying by with our sick we have several unwell from diarea &c distance traveled today 20 miles

Wednesday July 11th This morning we moved early out five miles found some grass and turned out two hours here our mules got quite refreshed we have passed over a verry hilly country. this afternoon we could not find a green patch of grass and were obliged to bait on dried up Buffalo grass we camped on a small stream. now but has the appearance of quite a river in a wet time we could not find near this stream grass enough for one mule we tied our teems up with a view of an early start distance traveled 25 miles

Thursday July 12th Today we have made a good drive to arrive at deer creek we passed several streams but the banks are grazed as close as sheep can perform that duty this forenoon we saw a buffallo I followed a short distance the ground so uneven my horse could not keep up with him we baited at noon near a cold spring these springs coming out of the hills are a perfect "God send" to the traveler the road today has been over hills and bluffs we struck the platte some five miles before arriveing at Deer Creek a mile further we saw at a distance a buffalo Mr Whittier and I started after him it proved to be one that had been shot today we saw several carcases indicating they were here we took a survey and to our joy we [saw] three at a distance We made for them by hideing behind the hills we came directly upon them I put a ball in back of the foreshoulder he went on I loded up and started my horse slowly and succeded in comeing up to him and putting a ball in his back it is difficult to shoot on the full gallop we though we had him he laging behind the others we came up to him I headed him and he stoped I fired at his head he droped on his knees and came up and with a tremendous rush came directly at me my horse was to quick for him and saved me a shock we followed him slowly expecting to see him fall he was bleeding freely and his lungs was evidently pierced as the Blood was runing of his toung he passed in a ravine that led to a branch of deer creek We lost sight of him and it being near night we could not find him in time to return to camp we struck the creek five miles above the mouth of the creek we started down the stream it was dark and comeing across a party hurding cattle we staid with them over night distance traveled 25 miles

Friday July 13th This morning Whittier and I returned to our party found them camped near the crossing of the river we moved up the creek six miles to stop a day or two for our mules to rest and cut some hay we camped near a fork in the creek a grand place fair grass we mowed some hay enough to give our mules a lunch for a few days today some of our men shot several ducks I shot four prara hens and if nothing happens we will have a rich dinner tomorrow.

Saturday July 14th This day has been spent in shoeing mules making hay &c We have had a glorious dinner a regular fowl soup delicious. Since we have been here we have had as much milk as we wanted of parties hurding their cattle near us

Sunday July 15th 1849 Today we have crossed the Platte again being ferryed across by a party from Ill. who on coming up to the ferry found it governed by a *Mormon* who was asking $2.50 for ferrying over a waggon they went to work and made a raft of log's dug out, they ferreyed us over for .50 cts a waggon this had the right effect to make him reduce his fare the same we had to swim our mules over we got all safely over and started at four oclock over a hilly sandy road we camped on the banks of the river in a pleasant grove some grass We are all well enough today to ride on horseback (distance from the old camp up to the creek 10 miles)

Monday July 16th This morning we moved at six oclock and the hardest road we have had very soft sand Bluffs We have all heavy loads today haveing one waggon for hay and buying yesterday at the crossing hard bread and rice to the amt of four hundred pounds we halted at noon on the river some little grass has the appearance of haveing been mowed the head teems eat it so close We had a meeting today noon to see about light[en]ing loads we concluded to leave all but 500 *lbs* of our pork finding we did not consume near as much as was estimated We left it beside the road for all that need it we concluded to part with 75 lbs of coffee and all that could be spared We moved late this evening camped on a sand Bluff and found our hay most valuable distance 18 miles

Tuesday July 17th This forenoon our road was more hilly and sandy We left the river at 11Oclock for good halted in a valley four miles beyond the teams had to labor so hard that quite a number called a meeting to make arrangements for packing the company the majority voted not to pack but try it a day or two longer this afternoon the road has been better we have passed today some hard hills We camped tonight on the banks of a small creek found a spring some *alkali* taste to the water no wood but wild sage distance 20 miles

Wednesday July 18th Today we started early with a view of getting to a spring 14 miles distant we pased (rock Avanue) this morning but the road has generally been quite good we halted at noon near the spring and creek no grass we fed out the rest of our hay here as we found no grass this afternoon we passed "Willow Spring" a spring of as cold water as man ever tasted after leaving the spring we ascended a verry high hill here we had a most glorious view of mountain scenery we camped near a spring and good grass this was the best camp we have enjoyed for some time distance 20 miles

Thursday 19th Today we have had a verry hard sandy road we passed this morning a fine running stream and at 11 oclock we came to a succession of lakes crusted over with alkalie some of them near a half inch thick some places more than others we halted on the rise after passing these lakes for the teams to come up we moved after an hours halt and four miles brought us to the (Sweetwater) We hailed it with delight found a good place to camp and halted for the night near independance rock[13] a place where every passer by leaves his signature distance 16 miles

Friday July 20th 49 Today our road has been mostly along the Banks of the river occasionally strikeing across the Bluffs these are soft sand and verry hard for teems to get through at 11 oclock our road run near the upper side of the "Devils Gate"[14] an opening in the Mountains for the river to run through the cut is called by the Mormon guide[15] 400 feet perpendicular and 80 feet wide it looked like the passage way of some higher power anyway it is one of those wonders of nature that man likes to admire the "Sweetwater" Ridge must be a part of the Rocky Mountains as they are a solid rock no herbage but an occasionally stunted Cedar in some crevice we camp tonight on the banks of the river 17 miles from our last camp

"Today we have disposed of one of our waggons making our remaining loads rather heavy" "For a week past we have passed a large number of Ox trains the hard chance we have had for grass has compelled them to give out many of them, we find them along the road oftener than every mile and parties with them have to lay by to recruit the remaining one."

Saturday July 21st 1849 Today we have laid by to give our mules a chance to recruit We found it expedient to improve some of our waggons by shortening the body we find others have done it with good results All well and everything ready for an early start

Sunday 22 This morning we were moveing at five our road lay mostly along the river banks some hard sand Bluffs to cross we halted at noon on the river 10 miles from our camp yesterday. While here a Buffalo came down to drink a little above our camp the camp was soon roused and the rifles read[y] a dozen men started on foot to cut him off they returned in an hour only one getting a shot at him This afternoon a man came to us who got lost four days before on a hunting excursion he looked miserable haveing nothing to eat for four days we fed him and he is with us tonight he proves to be a regular Phys[ician] from *Miss* belonging to a pack mule party This afternoon we have had a real shower the first we have had for 35 days it was a great relief to the dust we camped tonight near the crossing of the river under a mountain of rocks good grass and wood distance 19 miles

Monday July 23 This morning our road for the first three miles was directly through the mountains crossing the river three times in a mile or two at half past ten we traveled up a rise and the first sight that attracted our notice was the Mountains ahead covered with snow they were supposed to be the "Wind river" *Mts* north of the South Pass We made our noon halt at a crossing in the river and learned we had to travel 16 miles before comeing to the river again no grass between the two points we pushed for it came to the river at 10 oclock P. M. Mules and men hartily tired haveing traveled 28 miles on short feed the air this evening is quite cold being like our evenings the last of September here at the crossing we found several trains of ox teems and learned the great *Pass* was within two days drive some parties here had lost their whole teems by a stampede

Tuesday July 24th 1849 This morning we moved on up the river passed over a verry high rise as much of a mountain as we have passed over Struck the river some six miles above our last camp here we found a party leaveing a waggon we obtained it for wood and camped for the day to rest our teems etc

Wednesday July 25' This morning the water in our pails near the campfire were frozen over an indication that we were on a good deal of an elevation we passed up the banks of the sweet water some five miles our road then struck over the hills and verry high and hard compared to any we have passed we halted at noon on Strawberry creek while here *Capt* Duncan[16] of the Mounted rifle men came in to camp We invited him to diner We learned he was in persuit of four deserters from his Company who had run from Fort Larime besides taking horses and arms belonging to the Company they robed an emigrant of two hundred dollars and ravaged his wife he kept company with us this afternoon his horse nearly given out he offered $100 to our party to send on a man or men to catch them we had no horses that it would do to send we passed this afternoon two fine creeks both tributaries to the sweetwater we camped tonight near the last crossing of the river distance traveled 24 miles.

Thursday July 26th We had Capt Duncan stay with us last night this morning he got several of our men to acompany him a few miles hopeing to come up with the men he was in persuit of we started late intending to travel only 14 miles to pacific spring 9 miles from camp we passed the turning point in the Mountains the road has been good today and the rise verry little we began to decend and three miles further brought us to pacific springs good grass and fine water we arrived at one oclock camped for the day distance 12 miles

Friday July 27th This morning we made an early start having learned by our guide that it was 24 miles to the next water and grass[17] our road has been some decending generally level more so than I anticipated no herabage except wild sage and occasionally a bunch of greese wood we halted at noon and baited our mules on corn we had with us the road has been much harder today than usual we arrived at sunset on our camp ground on the banks of the little Sandy a fine stream 15 ft wide cold Water comeing right from the Mountains no grass and little wood distance 25 miles

Saturday 28th 49 This morning we were off before sunrise We arrived on the Banks of the Big Sandy eight miles from the Little found good grass grazed our mules till noon While here we shot several sage hens and hares furnishing us meat for a soup today we have passed several large trains of ox teems we find on this the *Mormon Road better* traveling than we expected the wind has been verry strong today and cold so much so that an overcoat is not uncomfortable We camped tonight on the Big Sandy 25 miles from our last camp and ten miles to the *Colorad* or green river[18]

Sunday July 29th We determined to move on to the Green river to find better grass We arrived river at Eleven oclock found it hard to ford hired a Mormon to ferry us over at $2. a wagon this is a beautifull stream 200 yards wide swift current and clear water we moved down the river four miles and camped on its banks good grass and plenty of timber and is a great relief to the barron country we have passed over since we left the Platte

At the ferry we came up with Captain Duncan who left us three days before he found his four deserters at this place poor fellows they are to be pitied distance 13 miles

Monday July 30th This morning for three miles our road lay along the banks of the Green River and after traveling over a barron country for a month such a change as this is a great relief the banks are well wooded and the green lawns present a most grattifying picture After leaving the river we struck over the bluffs and for 17 miles the country is more roling than a few days back we struck a fine stream Black fk We passed on after wattering and camped four miles beyond on Maders creek good grass no wood but willows distance 25 miles While we were haveing our nooning a most brutal affair took place between two of our members "White and Ayer" it commenced by White pushing Ayer and kicking him in return Ayer threw a hatchet he held in his hand at the time it struck White on the thy and cut a gash four inches long quite deep men get cross sometimes on this trip and haveing all restraint thrown off they act rash I hope we shall not have another case of assault it lowers us in the eyes of other Companies and ourselves

July 31st We moved early crossed the creek we camped on pased over a more roling country this forenoon we met the Mormon express going back to the states[19] they informed us that considerable of the *gold* from *Cal* had arrived at the settlement we learned that we could get vegetables etc at the Salt Lake this was good news to us our road ran along near the "Rain Bow" bluffs they derive their name from the different colours of clay and sand mixed up the sides we noticed one prominent Bluff whose sides presented with a little strech of imagination every variety of forms groups of men heads of animals &c looked like egiptian architecture we halted at noon on Blacks Fork good grass this afternoon we saw several antelope shot some sage hens and one hare which furnish us good material for a soup we camped on a creek of rapid running water cold and clear comeing from the Utaw Mountains whose peaks are ever covered with snow making the nights cold and needing over coats in the morning

Wednesday August 1st/49 Mr Noyse is quite sick this morning of an attack of Mountain fever we moved on at 7 oclock thinking to stop at "fort Bridger"[20] eight miles from our last camp the road was good some decending arrived at the fort at 10 Oclock near the fort we passed three rapid runing streams within a half mile of the Fort on the Banks of these streams was a large number of Indian wigwams most of them Sosone or Snake quite a number came to us and by signes asked for bread we gave them and they still beged it seamed as though there was no sattisfying their hunger poorly clad the men lazeing about and the Squas at home working hard dressing skins here we found several traders who had most of them Indian wives and you could see in the little pappoose crawling about the blood of the white man The indians were remarkably civel no one of them showed any disposition to steal we paid a visit to the Fort it is built of logs and quite a comfortable place to stay after our halt we moved on and our road was over high hills and part of the Utaw Mts after 12 miles traveling over hills a splendid valley appears below some two miles we found a fine stream and pretty good grass, some wood we camped well sattisfied our sick man some better distance 22 miles

Thursday Aug 2d 49 Our road this morning lay over high hills after traveling up three or four miles we had a tedious decent road rocky nothing of note except mountain scenery which is grand the snow covered peaks on one hand and the thousand streams runing from them with an occasional raviene with a grove of pople[r] to releive the mind we find the mornings verry cold here ice quite often is found in our watter buckets we made our noon halt on the side of one of the highest peaks we have passed after passing this ridge our road decended into a most beautiful valley after winding about the hill we struck across another ridge and had a fine view of Bear river and valley from the hill our road was verry steep and stoney for a mile which brought us to the river a fine stream of three rods wide rapid current we did not find grass here sufficient to stop haveing been well grazed by party and indians here we found two lodges of the Snake Indians these fellows beat all for begging we passed on over the first ridge and camped plenty of grass no water or wood distance 22 miles

Friday 3rd Aug This morning we were off in good season we had a good road somewhat hilly the first part and then by a pleasant decent we found ourselves in a splendid valley we found a good spring this four miles from our last camp the edges were frozen over the air is quite cold this morning we followed down this valley and small stream four miles and struck across the ridge into an other valley by a long and tedious decent we halted at noon near a spring of cold water good grass this was 15 miles from the river here we found two more lodges numbering in all twenty they persued the course of all we have passed *beg* we gave them and they seemd eqully dissatisfied want more they are of a smaller size than those we met in the first part of the trip and miserably poor soon after noon we struck into echo valley and followed it till night crossing a small stream in it several times towards night the hills grew higher and squarer three or four hundred feet perpendicular and the ravine where we crossed more dangerous we camped tonight near the stream poor grass distance 28 miles

Sat Aug 4th This forenoon we still followed the valley often crossing the stream saw some splendid views on one side perpendicular Bluffs several hundred feet high on the other the side hills covered with grass and herbage I noticed today some shrub oaks the first I have seen at noon we struck "Webbers" river a fine stream.[21] We halted a mile below where we struck it grass rather poor plenty of wood on it we passed party of Mormons today and obtained of them milk and *Butter* the latter the first we have had since leaving the States and as great a luxury as could be offered to us we forded the river three miles below our noon halt passed on the hills into a ravine two miles from the river and camped for the night distance 15 miles

Sunday Aug 5th '49 Today we have had a hard road passing up a narrow ravine most of the way on the side hills quite dangerous crossing a creek near a dozen times one of our teems got upset in a bad place we came up with a large party of forty Waggons Ox teems we followed them within a mile of the road leaving the river and camped for the night distance 12 miles

Monday Aug 6/49 Today our road after a mile from camp turned to the right up a Kenyon we followed it some four miles up often crossing a small gulley with some water this Kenyon was well timbered it led us on a verry prominent peak of the range the decent of which was exceedingly steep and dangerous we followed it down four miles and many times crossing a rapid runing creek near a dozen times we camped at the foot of the last hill (rightly called Mountain) that seperates us from the Salt Lake Valley today we have had the best view of mountain scenery that has greeted us on the trip we descended the hill without accident and well sattisfied with our days work

August 7 *Tuesday* This morning for a mile our road lay up a steep hill on arriving at the top we halted for a while then decended a sharp pitch into a ravine with a rapid runing stream of cold water after crossing the stream 19 times brought us in full view of the Valley and a more beautifull sight could not be presented to our view hundreds of acres of corn wheat and vegetables we moved through the main street [of Salt Lake City] and camped on what is calld the commons outside the city fence we gave our mules over to the herdsman for a few days and prepared ourselves to enjoy the good things of the Valley for a few days distance traveled today 12 miles

Aug 8 '49 Today we have looked about the city for information respecting the wisest way to finish our trip and have decided to pack our mules and shove through and have made arrangements for our packs and disposed of some of our waggons in exchange

Today our party took dinner with *Mr. Ira J. Williss* one of the Mormon battallion who was in *Cal* on the discovery of gold his brother was in the trench to work for Sutter when the discovery was made[22] *Ira* gave us some verry grattifying inteligence of the abundance of the *filthy lucre* We shall be better sattisfied when we see for ourselves

Aug 15th 1849 After a weeks sojourn with the Mormons we leave today with regretts haveing received the kindest attention from all we have had to do with. On the tenth we pitched our *Marque* tent and invited Elder Taylor[23] to address us on the general items that constitute the Mormon creed he spoke to us in verry plain talk of the treatment they received in the States and wo be to those men that were active in the persecution if they ever enter the City we were visited several times in our stay by *President* [Brigham] *Young* their leading *prophet* (for they beleive in *prophets* and *Bishops* and all the ancient organization of society) He seemed to be a fine man the people generally are a verry social people and hospitable and you may beleive that the vegetables had to suffer while we stoped. The City is laid out in squares on a good plan streets wide they irrigate the soil haveing plenty of water from the Kenyons near by have raised this season some excellent wheat and the valley for a hundred miles will be good tillage land. The people give one tenth of the products of their labor to the church for to feed the poor. they have not erected a temple as yet but intend to soon as they have raised grain to keep them the while. While we have been here it has been verry warm in the Valley but at a distance of sixteen miles the peaks of the Mountains are ever covered with snow we did not visit the Lake some 20 miles distant expecting to pass near it on our way There is one place of interest that we frequently visited was a *warm sulpher* spring one mile above the city and reputed healthy it was uncomfortably warm on first entering but after a moment it was delightfull Our men are much better in health and spirits than on entering the city Quite a number had a bit of Mountain fever but are all well now We started with high hopes of a speedy trip from here to our destination. We got started at four oclock P. M. came out Eight miles to a junction of the road part of our men took the right [road] that hugged the mountains through the settlements. [An insert, at bottom of previous page and upside down: "we passed a hot spring 4 m from the city. we could not bear a hand in it"] I together with the other part took the cut off near the lake we stoped at the first house and got supper and camped for the night distance 8 miles

Thursday Aug 16th This morning we packed up and started at 8 oclock each man has two animals to take care of and pack, which makes the labor equel this morning our road for several miles lay over a salt flat bottom not a spear of grass the ground moist with a salt crust on top 15 miles brought us to the junction of the two roads we camped in wait for the rest of the party to come up they soon arrived and we all got dinner at a farm house the farms all have to be irrigated to produce good crops here there was a fine stream run near the house, this house unlike those in the city was made of logs the "City houses were made mostly of douby bricks" distance 15 miles

Friday Aug 17th 49 We moved on today and 17 miles brought us to the last house of the settlement a mile beyond Capt Brown's crossed Webber river and camped near another fork of the river two miles most of our men went back to Brown's to get dinner I had a good bathe after getting clean I met a man by the name of *Chase* who lived on the other side of the creek I got permission to go home with him and get supper on arriving at his house I found it the most agreeable family I had been in in the valley a fine young lady presided at the table as mistress [her] mother being away we had for supper *peas corn buiscuit butter milk tea coffey* in fact all the heart of man could wish after tea the old man went into the merits of the *Mormon* faith after an evenings chat I retired to rest on a feather bed for the first time since leaving the states haveing been used to laying on the hard ground my rest was not so pleasant as I anticipated the old man said he would provide a breakfast for the whole party

Saturday 18' 49 This morning I returned to camp and informed the *Boys* we could have breakfast and we geered up and went over at 9 oclock and a better breakfast we never sat too. This was our last hope till we get through after biding our *friends* goodby we moved on passed several springs of good water we came to one after ten miles and rushed down to quench our thirst but found it so hot that we could not bear our hand in it near by was another cold but salt great our disappointment these springs are a wonder we arrived at a small creek and camped for the night good grass and water distance 15 miles

Sunday 19th Today we made a long drive we passed several springs some good some warm and salt our road lay along the valley near the Bluffs. Some of them high and nearly perpendicular forming numerous steeples and presenting some magnificent scenes on our left we could see the Lake and marsh for miles presenting the appearance of being covered with snow the salt crust being verry white we arrived at Bear river at 4 oclock steep banks on either side but with pack mules there is no difficulty in going down as up compared with waggons we camped after crossing on the banks of the river good grass here one of our men shot several wild geese and ducks near our camp which makes us a good meal distance 32 miles

Monday 20' Today we were off in good season three miles from camp we crossed a small stream of poor water called Malad Creek today our road passed along north of the Lake today about a west course after leaving the creek six miles brought us to a warm spring on the side hill here we filled our tanks expecting to have a long drive to good water we were not disappointed the sun was hot in the extreme the roads dusty a kind of powder which would rise in clouds enough to suffacate a person after twenty miles of such roads over some hills we came to a spring gushing out at a dozen places clear water men and animals rushed to it as if beside themselves and what a disappointment just warm enough to be sickish and *salt!* Oh! horrors. We had traveled far as the animals could bear and camp we must and make the best of it We boiled some for coffee which only made it the *salter* We have suffered as much today for want of water as any day since we started our men are all well so we can stand it distance traveled today 29 miles

Tuesday Aug 21st/49 Today we started with our throats dry and husky drinking so much warm salt water in hopes to find some good cold water we traveled four hours over a mountainous country and thank fortune we came to a spring in the moutains cold pure water this we considered a perfect *God Send* here we refreshed ourselves and animals for an hour and moved on to a creek of *good* water deep but narrow we passed down the creek five miles and camped good grass here we found letters papers and sermons of an *Episcopal Clergyman* by name of Yeager who formerly preached in Boston the writings of many hours scattered to the wind we supposed he had died back on the road his journal we found kept up to the South pass the last of it showed rather a depressed spirit. poor fellow he like many who started to improve their helth on this trip have found a grave on these plains. We met today a party returning to the city of Mormons We could not learn much about them but supposed they were a party of *gold* diggers as we learned they expected some home soon distance traveled today 28 miles

Wednesday Aug 22 This morning our road for twelve miles was across a plain covered with stunted sage and not a spear of grass. we came to a small spring of good water seven miles farther brought us to a mountain covered with stunted cedars here we found a weak spring hardly furnishing water for ourselves and animals we halted an hour or so while here Brother Fred was attacked with a violent pain in his back he was better in an hour and moved on with the train we traveled till dark and came to a good spring here we camped takeing our mules to a Kenyon near by for grass distance 26 miles

Thursday Aug 23 This forenoon our road was some hilly till we struck the *Clajux Creek* a distance of fourteen miles passing several good springs this creek is four feet wide and two ft deep good water we passed up the creek nine miles to where the road leaves it and camped Here we found our friends Rhorer's & co who have traveled with us since leaveing Ft Kearny they started from the city two days before we did and were in waiting for us grass poor distance 21 miles

Friday Aug 24th '49 Last night it rained quite hard most all night and this morning the clouds look lowery enough as they come over the mts we packed up soon after we struck over the ridge and had quite a shower it soon cleared off and the dust being laid we had the pleasantest time to travel that we have had for some time six miles brought us to the old road that passes *Ft. Hall*[24] near Steeple Rock this is two elevations of rock rising from one base four or five hundred feet after striking this road we had sixteen miles very mountainous some verry steep decents where men hitch a tree behind waggons to hold back this distance brought us to goose creek we passed up three miles and camped for the night near the creek distance 25 miles

Saturday Aug 25' This morning at daylight two of our mules was missing one belonged to Rhorer the other ours we were soon up and a dozen horsmen looking for a track they soon struck the trail in a Kenyon near by and a half a dozen followed in hot haste after following the trail for ten miles through ravines and over steep mountains they sudely came on one of the mules and a horse hitched no men to be found one man that was behind saw two men run down the opposite side of the hill in a ravine he followed but lost sight of them the party returned bringing the horse and mule back the horse we learned soon after was stolen four miles above from a small party the mule found was Rohrer's the probability is that a third man took some other course with ours and we did not find it we laid by for the day giving the men a chance to attend to personal matters

Sunday 26' Aug '49 This morning our road was on the banks of the creek for twenty miles here we passed several trains of ox teams who were recruiting we halted at noon near the creek where the road leaves it and then moved on sixteen miles to Hot Spring Valley arrived at 9 Oclock P. M. near where we camped was a warm spring but became cold after runing a few rods the water was pure sweet water no grass of any amount this has been a hard drive for our mules 36 miles on poor feed

Monday 27 Today we have made a short drive passed down the valley over some few hills passing several of the finest springs we have seen this is called the Thousand Spring Valley we came to a creek after traveling 15 miles with pools of water occasionally we followed it five miles and camped poor grass and few willows to cook with distance traveled today 20 miles

Tuesday Aug 28th '49 This morning we found that the grass our animals have had for a few days was not sufficient to sustain them on such long drives several of our horses laging yesterday we packed up determined to stop the first grass after driving three miles we came to a bottom of blue grass quite green we halted four hours to give our mules time to fill up. after dinner we moved down the valley twelve miles to the mouth of Kenyon one of our horses gave out and we left him My horse we could not get into camp without great urging the conclusion is the grass they have eaten has hurt them and have had but little of that. here there was no grass and we were compeled to drive our mules a mile up a ravine near by. For several nights back it has been verry cold on the 25th water froze near our camp fire an inch thick and this morning was equally cold. distance 12 miles

Wednesday Aug' 29' 49 This morning our road lay over quite a ridge and passing down a valley several miles we saw a spring on the right up on a side hill and halted for noon after an hours halt we moved on Some eight miles into a fine valley good grass and a fine spring here we camped for the night. the country over which we have passed for some days back has presented some high Mts on the right and left peaks covered with snow which makes our nights cold The greatest inconvenience we suffer in traveling here is the dust is of a powdery character and traveling along will rise in clouds that will almost suffocate us roads besides are generally good for waggons. We find that packing saves much hard work climbing up hills and locking down distance today 25 miles

Thursday Aug 30 '49 Today we have had a verry level road after two hours travel we struck a fine creek which soon lost itselfe in the valley at noon we came to a fine creek suposed to be the headquarters of the *Humbolt* river here we made our noon halt This forenoon we left two of our horses they haveing given out after noon we made our drive down the river some 15 miles towards evening we lost our *frying* pans this seemed our all as we gave up our *dutch ovens* at the city we camped near the river after dark. We saw three Indians appreared friendly here we herd of several head of cattle being stolen and several wounded with arrows here we found good grass distance 25 miles

Friday Aug 31st/49 This morning four of us went back to look for our pans after going back 5 miles we saw two men coming with them they haveing found them half mile back at M we packed up and moved on crossing quite a stream towards night did not know the name. We saw a notice from *Mas's* train stateing that an Indian had been shot and *Mortally wounded* and probably his tribe would be revenged five miles further we camped poor grass distance 15 miles We have passed a large number of ox trains in the last few days and the roads have been quite rough and dust beyond account as fine as flour rising in clouds no wind during the day The country has exhibited nearly the same appearance as has been seen over the first ridge

Sept 1st 49 [the last entry is in pencil] Today our road lay along the river most of the time occasionally leaveing it for a few miles *dust! dust!!* dust!!! towards night we left it struck into a Kenyon and overe hills instead of keeping the river and camped near a small spring at 9 P. M. no feed passed a mile back from camp. We passed a Mormon train from Cal they report Gold! Gold! Provisions reasonable fortunes made but 40 times as many spent Society not yet under Uncle Sams laws

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The record of the expedition ends abruptly with this last penciled entry. Apparently the party followed the Truckee River, crossed the Sierra by the Donner Pass and arrived at Sutter's Fort on September 27, 1849. The bark had already arrived at San Francisco, and the goods and boat were sold at a profit. David Staples and his brother Fred, after a short try at mining, soon engaged in the business of packing supplies from Stockton to the Southern Mines. Returning east in 1850, David brought back his wife and infant daughter around the Horn, arriving in San Francisco in January 1851.

Staples bought land on the Mokelumne River near where Lodi now stands, and became one of the leading citizens of that area. He raised cattle and wheat, operated a ferry and a toll bridge, was postmaster for several years, and was the first justice of the peace in Elliott Township, San Joaquin County. In 1858 he was a director of the State Agricultural Society. There is a story that he trapped bears and sold them at San Jose for the bull baiting there.[25]

Although he took an active part in politics, he held no public office other than those of justice of the peace and postmaster. He supported and fought for the California Constitution of 1850 and was among the first to join the Republican party. He was a delegate to the state convention of that party, on June 8, 1859, which, after a debate on the question of fusion with the Anti-Lecompton Democrats, nominated a straight Republican ticket headed by Leland Stanford for governor.[26] At the state convention, on June 15, 1860, he was chosen as a delegate to the national convention,[27] and later cast his ballot at Chicago for Abraham Lincoln. In the spring of 1861 he went to Washington to attend the inauguration, but because of an Apache outbreak he arrived after the ceremonies were over. For a short time he was a member of the Cassius Clay battalion in defence of the capital. At the California state convention, on June 19, 1861, he was a candidate for nomination as governor, but was defeated by Stanford.[28] In 1862 he was appointed warden of the port of San Francisco by Governor Stanford,[29] and served until 1866.

In 1866 Staples was appointed vice-president of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, and became president the following year. He remained the active head of this growing business until October 1899, when he retired. He was president of the Board of Fire Underwriters from 1867 to 1891, and was a vice-president of the Society of California Pioneers while his friend James Lick was its president. He died on April 3, 1900.[30]

NOTES

1. The Journal, in a leather-bound notebook, is in the possession of a grandson, David S. Painter, of San Mateo, California, who has been kind enough to permit its publication here. All entries but the last are in ink, in good legible handwriting. The writer used few periods to mark the end of sentences or capitals to indicate the beginnings of new sentences; spaces have accordingly been left to indicate breaks in thought. Most of the original spelling has also been kept in an effort to retain the character of the journal.

2. Biographical material concerning Staples is to be found in Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men* (San Francisco, 1882), II, 337-47; W. F. Swasey, *The Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), pp. 291-97; Frank Morton Todd, *A Romance of Insurance* (San Francisco: Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, 1929), pp. 291-97; *The Bay of San Francisco* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), p. 386; San Jose *Pioneer*, May 15, 1900, p. 76; Obituary Notices of the Society of California Pioneers (bound typewritten MSS), VII, 195-98.

3. The company included Bracket Lord, president; Walton C. Felch, vice-president; S. D. Osborn, secretary; Jesse Winslow, treasurer; and David J. Staples, J. A. Hough, A. C. Sweetser, H. W. Dickinson, Benjamin C. Evans, and Thomas H. McGrath (or Megrath). Boston *Evening Traveler*, April 17, 1849. See also C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 397.

4. The story of the Granite State and California Mining and Trading Company, which left Boston the day after the Staples party, is told by one of its members, Kimball Webster, in *The Gold Seekers of '49* (Manchester, N. H.: Standard Book Company, 1917.) Webster makes no mention of the religious services on Sunday, April 29, but does say that the *Bay State* "is very much crowded with Californians." *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

5. John Charles Frémont was the first to record accurately on a map the road to the South Pass, as well as other routes to the Pacific. "After 1845, the emigrant commonly carried in his kit a copy of Frémont's journal with a useful map of the country as far as the Pacific." Frederic Logan Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (Boston and N. Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, p. 338. "In 1846 the Senate of the U. S. published a detailed oblong folio map in seven sections, compiled from field sketches and observations made by Charles Preuss. The map shows the overland route from Westport to Fort Walla Walla in great detail, also gives tables of meteorological observations, extracts from Frémont's report, and remarks concerning water, grass, fuel, game and Indians." Frémont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44* (Washington, 1845), printed as 28th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 174, and also as H. Doc. 166, was the source for a number

of pamphlets issued during the gold rush. Henry R. Wagner (Charles L. Camp, ed.), *The Plains and the Rockies* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1937), p. 89. Staples undoubtedly carried one of these works as a guide. See Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

6. "In 1846 Congress allowed the War Department to garrison selected spots [on the overland route] for military posts. The first of these, near the head of Grand Island in the Platte, was 310 miles from Fort Leavenworth and was called Fort Kearny, after Stephen Watts Kearny, first lieutenant-colonel of the dragoon regiment." Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 338. Colonel Kearny, with Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, led five companies of dragoons, each with its own uniform color of horses from the Missouri River along the old Oregon Trail to the South Pass. Fort Kearny saw much of the historical pageantry connected with the conquest and gold discovery in California.

7. "June 17 [1846].—We reached the ford of the Platte about two o'clock, P. M., and ascertained by an examination that, although the river was still rising, our wagons could pass over without much difficulty." Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour . . . in the Years 1846, 1847* (New York, 1848), p. 94. Bryant, in 1849, was again on his way west. He had left the Wakarusa about eleven days before the Staples party, with a train of 170 pack mules, and now was probably far ahead. Isaac Jones Wistar, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1937), p. 55; Elizabeth Page, *Wagons West, a Story of the Oregon Trail* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.), p. 128.

8. Scott's Bluff was about a day's journey from Chimney Rock. This elevated and remarkable formation is said to have derived its name from a noted mountaineer named Scott in the employ of the American Fur Company. With a party of five or six trappers he was returning by boat down the Platte to the settlements when he was seized with a disease which rendered him helpless. His companions deserted him and left him in the boat to die. Returning to their employers, they reported that Scott had died and that they had buried him on the banks of the Platte. The next year a skeleton wrapped in blankets was discovered by a party of hunters. From the clothing and papers the remains were identified as those of Scott. After being deserted by his men, he had recovered sufficient strength to leave the boat and had wandered into the bluffs where his bones were found and which now bear his name. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 104. A town called Scottsbluff now occupies the site.

9. Fort John was one mile south of Fort Platte upon the Laramie River. It was a station of the American Fur Company. For further information about these forts see Leroy R. Hafen and F. M. Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938).

10. "Fort Laramie, or 'Fort John,' as it is otherwise called, has been the principal trading-post of the American Fur Company. Its distance from Independence [by the Bryant route] is 672 miles . . . It is situated on Laramie River, near its junction with the Platte, and is surrounded by an extensive plain . . . 'The Fort' . . . is a quadrangle, the walls of which are constructed of adobes . . . The area enclosed is . . . about half or three-fourths of an acre of ground. Its walls are surmounted by watch-towers, and the gate is defended by two brass swivels. On three sides of the court, next to the walls, are various offices, store-rooms, and mechanical shops. The other side is occupied by the main building of the Fort, two stories in height." Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Rufus Sage, in his *Rocky Mountain Life; or Startling Scenes and Perilous Adventures in the Far West* (Boston, 1857), p. 96, states that Fort John was a mile south of Fort Laramie and that "between these two posts a strong opposition is maintained in regard to the business of the country." Fort Laramie, 337 miles west of Fort Kearny, was built in 1835 [1834] by William Sublette and Robert Campbell and was then called Fort William. Later it passed into other control and was rechristened Fort Laramie for one Laramie who was killed there by the

Indians. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 60. See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 683.

11. "At the distance of ten miles from the fort, we entered the sandy bed of a creek, a kind of defile, shaded by precipitous rocks, down which we wound our way for several hundred yards to a place where, on the left bank, a very large spring gushes with considerable noise and force out of the limestock rock. It is called 'the Warm Spring' . . ." Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

12. "We were approaching a ridge, through which the river passes by a place called 'cañon' (pronounced kanyon), a Spanish word, signifying a piece of artillery, the barrel of a gun, or any kind of tube; and which, in this country, has been adopted to describe the passage of a river between perpendicular rocks of great height . . ." Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

13. Independence Rock is a granite pile, a relic of the glacial age, that rises above the plain on the north side of the Sweetwater River in Central Wyoming. Between the rock and the river ran the combined Oregon-Mormon-California trails. Father De Smet, in 1840, wrote: "It might be called the great registry of the desert." Some authorities give the Ashley-Henry trappers of the early 1820's credit for naming the landmark, upon which, it is said, they held a celebration on July 4 and engraved the words "Independence Rock." Frémont left the impression of the cross deeply carved on its face. Howard R. Driggs, *Westward America* (New York: American Pioneer Trails Association, 1942), pp. 96-100.

14. Devil's Gate, about six miles west of Independence Rock, is a chasm through which flows the Sweetwater River. Driggs, *op. cit.*, p. 101. The Gate is described in many annals of the pioneers. Clayton gives the measurements under date of June 21, 1847, as the barometrical measurements by Elder Orson Pratt. The rock on the east side is perpendicular, 399 feet 4¼ inches high. The one on the west side is about the same height but bends a little from the river gradually to the top. *William Clayton's Journal: Diary Record of the Original Company of Mormon Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, Published by the Clayton Family Association* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1921).

15. The "Mormon guide" was undoubtedly William Clayton's *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide: Being a Table of Distances, Showing All the Springs, Creeks, Rivers, Hills, Mountains, Camping Places . . . from Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake . . .* (St. Louis, 1848). The reference to Devil's Gate is on p. 15. Clayton prepared the guide from his own observations and the records of Orson Pratt's roadometer. The guide was reprinted in Leander V. Loomis (Edgar M. Ledyard, ed.), *Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company* (Salt Lake City, 1928).

16. Captain Thomas Duncan. The Mounted Riflemen, according to the Act of Congress passed on May 19, 1846, comprised ten companies. An appropriation of $76,500 was allowed for mounting and equipping these troops. Duncan was in Company E, which consisted of five officers and fifty-eight men. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-42.

17. The Mormon Guide, under "Pacific creek (crossing)" remarks: "After you leave here you will find a good road, but very little water." Of the Dry Sandy, nine miles farther on, the Guide says: "The water brackish, and not good for cattle. Very little grass, but no wood." Six miles beyond that came the "Junction of the California and Oregon roads. Take the left hand road." And it was 7¾ more miles to the Little Sandy. Clayton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

18. The Green River, the "Rio Verde" of the Spaniards and the "Seedskeedee" (or "Siskadee") of the Crow Indians, rises in the Rockies in what is now the State of Wyoming and flows into the Colorado River.

19. "The Mormons established their own stage and express from the Missouri border." Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

20. Fort Bridger was an important trading post west of South Pass named for Jim Bridger, a scout in the party of Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, a French born officer of the regular United States Army. The Mormon Guide states that the fort was "composed of four log houses and a small enclosure for horses." Clayton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

21. The Mormon Guide calls this the "Red fork of the Weber river." Clayton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

22. Ira J. and Sidney S. Willis were among the Mormon workmen employed by Sutter at his flour mill at Natoma at the time gold was discovered in the tailrace of his Coloma sawmill. Reva Holdaway Stanley, "Sutter's Mormon Workmen at Natoma and Coloma in 1848." This *Quarterly*, XIV (September 1935), 269-82. See also Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* ([Salt Lake City], 1881), pp. 334 and 335. The Willis brothers are also mentioned in James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, 1900), pp. 102, 103, 108, 109.

23. John Taylor, a former Methodist minister in Toronto, Canada, became an outstanding Mormon apostle. His biography is given in William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from Their Origin to the Year 1901* (N. Y. and London: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 412, and Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City, n. d.), pp. 23-30.

24. Fort Hall, built in 1834, was near the junction of the Snake and Portneuf rivers in what is now Idaho. It was named for William Hall, a Boston financier who had backed Nathaniel Wyeth in his western trading venture. In 1832 Wyeth had made a contract with the proprietors of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, William Sublette and Robert Campbell, to fetch certain goods to them on the frontier. In the meantime the two latter sold their interests to Milton Sublette, James Bridger, and Thomas Fitzpatrick. When the three later repudiated the Wyeth contract, leaving him in the wilds with a train load of goods, Wyeth was so angry that he warned Milton Sublette: "I'll roll a stone into your front yeard that you won't be able to get out." That "stone" was old Fort Hall. Driggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-42.

25. George H. Tinkham, *History of San Joaquin County* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1923), pp. 95-96.

26.Winfield J. Davis *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 97.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

28. *Ibid*, p. 176. See also George Thomas Clark, *Leland Stanford, War Governor of California, Railroad Builder and Founder of Stanford University* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1931).

29. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

30. See Note 2.

Steam Navigation on the Colorado River

By Francis Hale Leavitt

(Concluded)

The Peak of the Colorado River Trade

BY 1864, Colorado River navigation had run the gauntlet of experimentation and had proved its importance in the development of the Southwest. During the next six years it experienced a period of rivalry and expansion. In 1870 began its third important phase, which might fittingly be called the peak period of the river trade. These years are characterized by the addition of new steamers to the river fleet and by the introduction of a scheduled ocean steamer service from the coast cities of California to the mouth of the Colorado, replacing the slower and more unreliable wind-driven vessels. Scheduled service from San Francisco tended to induce regular sailings inland on the part of the river steamers, and, though it was not always possible to adhere to the schedules, that goal was more nearly approximated during this period than at any other time in the history of river navigation. The expansion period had failed to establish trade with Callville, but trips to El Dorado Canyon, some forty miles below, were made with a semblance of regularity during the next twenty years. It was on this five-hundred-mile stage, stretching from the mouth of the Colorado to El Dorado Canyon, that the drama of steam navigation reached its climax.

Some idea of the scope of ocean transportation at the commencement of the peak period may be obtained from a survey of the list of vessels sailing from San Francisco to the mouth of the Colorado. Whereas, between 1857 and 1864 the vessels known to have been engaged in the ocean trade each year averaged nine, the average for the seven years ending in 1870 was nineteen. A glance at the steamer service on the river shows a similar trend. Before 1864 two steamers could handle the traffic to the interior, but during that year five were engaged in this service. The effect of this increased trade on the mining industry, and consequently upon the growth of Arizona itself, cannot be overestimated. Steamer service made mining profitable, since it offered a reliable means of getting unrefined ore to the San Francisco market and supplies and machinery in return. Prior to 1864 Yuma had been the only river port of importance, but, as mining developed during the next seven years, river ports at Castle Dome, Mineral City, Ehrenberg, Olive City, La Paz, Aubrey, El Dorado, and Hardyville mushroomed into existence. As a distribution center Yuma carried on a thriving business. From here military supplies were dispatched to Mohave and the army posts of the interior. Hardly a day passed that the heavily laden freight wagons of William B.

Hooper, David Neahr, and James M. Barney did not leave for Wickenburg, Prescott, and other settlements in central Arizona.

In Yuma, as in the other up-river landings and mining camps, a cross section of society revealed the usual conglomeration of nationalities and colors found on the frontier. Here the river pilots and passengers mingled with the miners, the Mexican traders, the Chinese laborers, the soldiers from the fort across the river, and the scantily clad Indians. Little attention was paid to such insignificant markings of civilization as dress, cleanliness, or community pride; and the ill-kept adobe houses, yards, and streets of Yuma bore mute evidence to a careless and carefree existence. Life, however, was not humdrum. Frontiers thrive on activity. In Yuma the frequent periods of idleness were punctuated by occasional Indian uprisings, the escapades of "gun toting" bad men, and the arrival of the steamer at the wharf.

> With the cry of "Steamboat coming!" Yuma sprang into activity, for the arrival of a boat was a festive occasion. Boys and loafers ran down to the landing at the foot of Main Street to enjoy any possible excitement; the peanut merchant, the apple boy, and the tamales vendor hawked their wares; Americans, Mexicans, and Indians rushed noisily about loading and unloading the steamboat, the barges and the "prairie schooners" drawing up alongside the steamboat warehouse.[108]

To maintain the pace demanded by these youthful camps along the Colorado, it was necessary to repair and replace the units of the river fleet constantly. By 1864 the *Cocopah* had had her boilers patched three times,[109] and in August, two years later, it was announced that she had been condemned.[110] By March 1867, she had been replaced by a new steamer, the *Cocopah No. 2*, constructed at Yuma.[111]

Only two river boats were launched during the peak trading period. Each claimed the title of "Queen of the fleet," and each had numerous supporters who were equally uncompromising in their loyalty to their candidate. The first of these vessels, the *Gila*, was constructed at Port Isabel at the mouth of the river during the winter of 1872-73. She was launched in February and arrived in Yuma on the fourth of that month.[112] She was 175 feet long, with a 35-foot beam, and a 4-foot hold. She drew only 16½ inches of water, which was less than any boat on the river, and her capacity of 236 tons made her the largest river steamer ever to operate on the Colorado. One admirer wrote: "Her passenger accommodations are unsurpassed by any boat of her size and build we have ever seen—having staterooms with all modern appliances and improvements, for sixteen passengers. Her dining hall is large and spacious, and her promenades are all a lover of nature could desire."[113]

The *Gila's* rival was the distinctive two-stack *Mohave No. 2*, which was launched in 1875. Whether or not the twin smoke stacks gained for her the position of highest esteem among both passengers and pilots is not recorded, but she was the only steamer on the river to boast that distinction in design. She was the particular favorite of Isaac Polhamus, captain and superintendent of the company, who used her as an excursion steamer during the eighties and nineties.[114]

> She was really a four-decker forward, since the pilot house was on top of the texas. Her tall jack-staff rose high at the bow, and her stacks climbed nearly forty-five feet above the river. Amidships and aft rose other staffs; on state occasions they were decked with flags, and the white boat was draped with green garlands, which hung in festoons from the trusses and decks, and spiraled up around the staffs.[115]

Decked out in such an attire she presented a picture which thrilled the heart of every Arizonan. A year earlier the hundred-ton *Mohave No. 1* was taken on her final voyage to Port Isabel, where her hull remained for many years. Her machinery was sent to San Francisco and was put aboard the *Onward*, which was still operating between San Francisco and Stockton in 1878.[116] The launching of the *Mohave No. 2* seems to have been very unpretentious and a little mystifying. On October 30, 1875, the *Sentinel* announced that a new steamer, the *Structure No. 11*, had been successfully launched at the mouth of the river on the thirteenth, but it was not until several months later that she received her rightful name, *Mohave No. 2*.[117] She had been designed in San Francisco and shipped piecemeal to the mouth of the river. Since it was not known what her name would be, the sections were marked "Structure No. 11," although, counting the barges, she was the twelfth to be built on the river by the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. Her misleading title was changed before March 1876.[118] She was 170 feet long, with a 33-foot beam, and a capacity of 188 tons. With these two new additions, the *Gila* and the *Mohave No. 2*, the Colorado Steam Navigation Company continued operations until the coming of the railroad in 1877.[119]

The average life expectancy of Colorado River steamers was approximately ten years, and although some ceased to be useful at the end of seven, others, such as the *Cocopah No. 2*, *Gila*, and *Mohave No. 2*, were in active service for some fourteen to twenty years. The rough usage to which they were subjected made a shipyard indispensable. The first yard was constructed at Yuma in 1862, although boats were assembled at the mouth of the river prior to that time. At Yuma were constructed the *Colorado No. 2*, the *Mohave No. 1*, and the *Cocopah No. 2*. In the early seventies a shipyard was constructed at Port Isabel on the California shore near the mouth of the river. Here the *Mohave No. 2* and the *Gila* were launched, and here, too, the constant business of scraping, calking, and painting the "Arizona Fleet" was conducted. The most important single feature of the port was the dry dock. This ingenious device was dependent entirely on the tide for its operation. It consisted of a small, plank-lined basin excavated into the bank at high tide level. Across the end facing the gulf were constructed floodgates to hold or release the water of the dry dock. The tide did the rest. The average range of the gulf tide is about twenty-one feet, although spring tides often reach more than thirty feet. To operate the dock the gates were raised at high tide, and the steamer was towed into position immediately above skids which previously had been arranged on the dock floor. When the tide receded, the boat dropped quietly into place on the elevated skids and was left high and dry for any necessary repairs. At low water, the dock gates were closed against the next tide, and overhauling could proceed at leisure. When she was again ready for service, the gates were reopened. The inrushing water of the flood tide raised her from the skids, and she was backed out into the gulf ready to resume her work on the river. An excellent description of the activities at Port Isabel is found in the *Arizona Sentinel* of 1873:

> About ten miles below the mouth of the Colorado, on the Gulf of California, we entered the slough, up which we steamed three miles to Port Isabel, which is merely a wood-yard. The place was given that name from the fact that the first vessel entering that slough was the schooner Isabel. Three miles further up we came to the ship-yard of the C. S. N. Co., which is quite a village. The general buzzing of carpenters' saws, the hammerings of the blacksmiths and boiler-makers, and the clinking noise made by the coppersmith, would lead one to think himself in a much larger place. The buildings are all framed. The dock can hardly be surpassed by any on the Pacific Coast; and the convenience for workmen on this dock is far greater than on those at San Francisco . . . The Mohave will take her place next in the dock, being the last river boat to be repaired, except the Nina Tilden, the pioneer boat of this line. The Colorado was also in the dock when we got there, and had gone through a course of repairs . . .
>
> On Tuesday . . . the steamer Colorado was launched . . . from the dock. The work did not occupy more than ten minutes, water being introduced in the dock through flood gates.[120]

By 1870 the Colorado Steam Navigation Company had complete monopoly of traffic on the river for the second time and was better prepared to meet the demands of commerce than at any time previously. Consequently these years are conspicuous by their absence of complaint about steam service on the Colorado. There was, however, a great need for the improvement of the ocean route from San Francisco to the mouth of the river. Such boats as the brig *J. B. Ford* and the schooners *Isabel* and *Alice Haake* occasionally made the trip to the mouth of the river from San Francisco in from sixteen to nineteen days. However, the *Josephine* in 1869 is known to have required forty-two days, and the *Sovereign* in 1866 spent forty-five days enroute. An average voyage required approximately from twenty to thirty days each way. Records show that vessels engaged permanently in the Colorado River trade averaged three round trips a year. However, the *Isabel* in 1865 and the *J. B. Ford* in 1867 are known to have made four. At best, the wind-driven vessels were slow and unreliable. For this reason, as has been shown, experimental voyages were made by larger ocean-going steamers—in 1859 by the *Uncle Sam* and *Santa Cruz*, in 1866 by the *Oregon*, and in 1869 by the *Continental*. By 1870 mineral production and the movement of military troops reached a volume sufficient to warrant a more regular ocean service. A year later the Colorado Steam Navigation Company purchased the 943-ton steamer *Newbern*,[121] and on August 5 both

Arizona and California papers announced the opening of steam service to the mouth of the Colorado.[122] The *Newbern* was scheduled to leave San Francisco for the mouth of the river on the first of each month. Upon arrival she was to connect with the river steamers so that freight and passengers could be delivered in Yuma within twelve days from the date of sailing. Special inducements were offered to passengers, and fares were set at seventy-five dollars "first cabin," or forty-five dollars "steerage." Offices of the company were located in San Francisco and at Yuma and Ehrenberg on the river.[123]

The success of an all-steam service to Yuma was instantaneous. Freight laid down in Arizona in twelve days from San Francisco seemed miraculous. The effect was noticeable in everything, from the delivery of newspapers only two weeks old to the arrival of the latest styles "direct from the city," and Arizonans were enthusiastic in their praise of the new service. It was indeed a new era, and hundreds now availed themselves of the opportunity to visit San Francisco "just for the ride." Within two months the *Miner* reported that "mountains of government freight for Whipple, Date Creek, Hualpai and Verde are being received here," and in March of the following year the same paper observed that the *Newbern* had been offered more freight than she had been able to carry.[124]

In 1873 the headquarters of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company were moved to San Diego. Under the leadership of Isaac Polhamus, Jr., who became acting superintendent, the company flourished. On November 8 it announced the addition of a second ocean steamer, the *Montana*, to be put into service from San Francisco to Port Isabel.[125] The twelve-day schedule was retained, but the sailing frequency was now increased from once a month to every twenty days. Stops were made at Guaymas, La Paz, and Mazatlan, and passenger rates were reduced to forty dollars first class and twenty-four dollars steerage. An excellent picture revealing the scope of the river trade in 1873 is found in the *Miner*. There were: "The Steamer Gila, 236 tons capacity; Cocopah, 231 tons; Mohave, 192 tons; Colorado, 178 tons; Nina Tilden, 107 tons. Barges, No. 1, 106 tons; No. 2, 125 tons; No. 3, 136 tons; No. 4, 185 tons; Black Crook, 31 tons; which boats make about twenty trips a year up the river, as far as Ehrenberg, going up to . . . Hardyville, about fifteen trips, bringing up an average of 100 tons of freight each trip."[126] Thus, with two ocean-going steamers covering the eighteen hundred miles between San Francisco and Port Isabel every twenty days, and five river boats and an equal number of barges serving the settlements and mining camps along a five-hundred-mile water front, steam navigation on the Colorado River reached its climax.

Although the steamers provided the motive force for navigation, it is impossible to overlook the role played by the river barges. The barge was the one great contribution of Thomas E. Trueworthy to the Colorado trade. In 1864, when he commenced business, lumber to be used in barge construction was shipped aboard the *Victoria* to the mouth of the river. On the *Victoria* also came three of the later river pilots, John ("Jack") Mellon, Charles Tyson, and Charles Overman. Upon their arrival they commenced work on the *Black Crook*, the first barge to navigate the Colorado. She was designed in San Francisco, measured 128 feet long by 28 feet wide, and was assembled in nineteen days. Later that year Trueworthy built a second barge, the *White Fawn*, which was lengthened in 1867.[127] During the next six years the Johnson Company followed his lead and constructed barges numbered from 1 to 4. In later years the *Pumpkin Seed*,[128] *El Dorado*, *Colorado*, *Veagas*, *Yuma* and *Silas J. Lewis* are known to have been in operation at one time or another.

The barge was indispensable in shallow water. Although river steamers drew but sixteen to twenty-four inches, this was too much during extremely dry periods. By transferring all or part of its load to the barge, the steamer was able to navigate in unbelievably shallow currents. During moderate stages of the river, both the steamer and the barge carried pay loads, thereby increasing the profit from the trade, much as the truck-trailer combinations do today.[129] If it was discovered at a certain mine or landing that a full return load was not available, as was often the case, the barge was left while the steamer continued her service. After a sufficient cargo had been accumulated, the barge was loaded, and the crew drifted her down to the mouth of the river without the assistance of the steamer. Here she was anchored or towed into Port Isabel to await the arrival of the ocean steamer. In this way both steamer and barge were left free to operate independently. For the return voyage upstream the barge could be reloaded and towed to any landing requiring her service. In size the barges varied widely. The smaller structures such as the *Black Crook* had a carrying capacity of but thirty to forty tons, while those built at a later period, when river steamers were capable of hauling larger cargoes, ranged well above one hundred tons. The largest barge on the river, the No. 4 of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company, was built in San Francisco, was assembled at Port Isabel, and arrived at Yuma on September 29, 1872. She was 165 feet long, with a 33-foot beam, and a 3 7/10-foot hold, had a square stern equipped with four rudders, and boasted a carrying capacity of 185 tons.[130]

To Arizona the Colorado River was a lifeline. Across the decks of the river steamers were imported the mills, machinery, explosives, and mining tools, the military supplies and equipment for the Arizona troops, and the dry goods, furniture, and food for the populace. Some conception of the volume of the import trade up the Colorado waterway may be obtained from the following table compiled from the files of the *Arizona Sentinel* published at Yuma.[131]

Date of Arrival at the Mouth of River				Volume of Shipment Made from Yuma to the Interior	
		Steamer	Steamer	Merchant Freight	Army Freight
Month	Year	*Newbern*	*Montana*	Pounds	Pounds
January	1874	10	31	94,000	24,000
February	1874	19		12,000	2,000
March	1874		12	320,000	343,202
April	1874	3	23	212,721	116,907
May	1874		31	56,547	53,373
June	1874			169,500	43,000
July	1874	9		78,830	66,700
August	1874	20	7	146,700	200,800
September	1874		18	48,000	
October	1874	10		17,000	200,000
November	1874	28	8	55,000	
December	1874	*Montana* wrecked December 20, no figures given.			
January	1875	14		no figures given.	
February	1875	24	*Montana* repaired.	261,000	48,000
March	1875		21	141,000	43,000
April	1875	10		572,000	75,000
May	1875	28	5	171,500	
June	1875		19	223,200	
July	1875	16		369,725	
August	1875		7	319,500	
September	1875	4	25	250,892	
October	1875	20		443,000	
November	1875		11	299,000	
December	1875	4		345,250	
Total		15 trips	13 trips	4,007,325	1,215,983

Hiram C. Hodge estimated that the import trade in 1875 had reached a volume exceeding four thousand five hundred tons.[132] Two years earlier the *Miner* announced that during a seventy-day period the firm of William B. Hooper had dispatched 1,457,146 pounds of freight to the different military and mining posts of the interior.[133]

In contrast to the import trade, the Arizona export trade consisted chiefly of raw ores, wool, hides, and pelts. By 1864 the mines had started producing in sizable quantities, and from that time the bulk of all exports consisted of gold, silver, and copper ores.[134]

Freight rates to San Francisco from the various river ports are described by the *Sentinel* in 1873. Over a long period of time they, of course, varied considerably. On ore: "From Mohave or Hardyville, $25 per ton, . . . From William's Fork or Camp Colorado, $15 per ton. Ehrenberg or Castle Dome, $12.50 per ton; Yuma, $10." On wool: "From Mohave, $25 per ton. Ehrenberg or Yuma, $20 per ton." On general merchandise: "From Hardyville, $30 per ton measurement; Ehrenberg, $25; Yuma, $20."[135]

Two policies of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company proved to be a source of constant irritation to Arizona merchantmen. The first of these was the insistence of the company that all freight bills be paid in coin. Money of any description was scarce in Arizona, and such an order only added to the gravity of the situation. In spite of repeated protests and appeals over a period of years, this regulation was never altered. Of greater consequence was the problem of freight rates based on the measurement of crated freight rather than upon actual weight. This regulation was first put into effect shortly before 1859 and continued in spite of numerous heated arguments down to the closing days of navigation on the river. Although the cost of freight varied over a period of years, the cost of "measured" freight seemed always to react to the disadvantage of the importer. In 1859 the rate was set at 62½c a cubic foot. Thus freight charges on a piece of furniture weighing 200 pounds and crated in a container 4 feet square would be $40, based on measurement, whereas, the amount, if estimated on the actual weight at the established rate of $65 a ton, would have been only $6.50. In 1874 the *Miner* carried an interesting example of just such a case.

> A "panning out" of bills shown us this morning, gives the following results:
>
> Forty packages of goods, measuring 148 feet gave, according to the company's way of figuring, 7,400 pounds, while according to the bill of the freighter who brought the goods here from Ehrenberg, the same forty packages weighed just 4,786 pounds, and for which number of pounds he charged freight. Anyone can see that there is, in these weights, a difference of 2,614 pounds, for which the shipper has to pay the Colorado Steam Navigation Company . . .[136]

In the beginning, steam navigation on the Colorado River had largely been the outgrowth of a demand for some means of supplying the military forces stationed in Arizona. From 1851 troops were kept constantly on duty in the territory, their numbers ranging from twelve to fifteen hundred. When steam service to San Francisco began, all troop movements to and from Arizona were carried over this route.[137] No information is available as to the number of arrivals and departures over a long period of time, but notes covering the year 1872, taken from the files of a number of Arizona papers, may be considered typical of any year during this period. In February 1872, it was reported that the *Colorado* had arrived at Arizona City with 125 recruits.[138] In March, 300 more were reported to have left San Francisco on the *Newbern* for the Colorado.[139] In April, 136 recruits with their wives and laundresses left the river for San Francisco.[140] In July, the *Newbern* arrived with 300 troops and some passengers,[141] and on her return voyage in August she brought 200 troops to Port Isabel and returned to San Francisco with the same number.[142] On November 2, she was expected at the river with 200 additional men,[143] and again on the twenty-seventh she left San Francisco with 150 more.[144] These figures reveal that the Colorado Steam Navigation Company collected fares on more than 1,611 recruits during the year, and this number in all probability did not represent a complete accounting. While the regular passenger fare was $75 first class and

$45 steerage at this time, soldiers were transported at a special rate of $40 each. This would make an income of $64,440 from troops alone. In addition to military personnel, there was a continual movement of travelers, adventurers, and miners to and from Arizona, although figures showing the extent of this travel are not available. Albert H. Payson states that during the nineteen months from May 1877, to January 1879, the company transported 2,286 passengers, which again indicates the volume of travel to Arizona.[145]

Obviously a business such as that conducted by the Colorado Steam Navigation Company required a large personnel. More than one hundred men were engaged in this service, their number fluctuating with the amount of business being transacted. During the spring months, when water was high and business brisk, this number was often exceeded, while in the fall, during low water and slack business, large numbers were discharged. In May 1874, the *Miner* announced that the company had discharged forty-five men and laid up all but one steamer and a barge,[146] and a similar occurrence was noted in 1866.

Of paramount importance in the personnel of the company were the river pilots, upon whom largely depended the success of steam navigation. On the run from San Francisco to Port Isabel perhaps the most experienced captain was A. N. McDonough. He was in command of the brig *Josephine* running to the Colorado as early as 1867 when sailing vessels were being used. In 1871 he went aboard the *Newbern* as captain and continued in command until transferred to the *Montana* in 1873. Captain William Metzger was then given the *Newbern*, and a year later McDonough was replaced on the *Montana* by Captain George M. Douglass. These two continued in command until the company retired from business in 1877. Prominent among the names of the river pilots were Captains George A. Johnson and A. H. Wilcox, founders of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company; D. C. Robinson,[147] Charles Overman, Isaac Polhamus,[148] Steve Thorn, A. D. Johnson, and others. In the rival company of 1864 were Thomas E. Trueworthy, Robert T. Rogers, Paddy Gorman, and most famous of all, John ("Jack") Mellon. Mellon joined the Colorado Steam Navigation Company soon after his arrival on the Colorado and acted as captain on the river steamers until 1887.[149]

To the average river pilot, steam navigation on the Colorado presented a number of problems which were fundamentally different from those of most other streams, and although a captain may have navigated the waters of the seven seas, he was not granted a position of importance among the pilots of the Colorado until he had mastered the "tricks of the trade" there. The initial experience which he invariably met with on approaching the Colorado was the tidal "bore," often called "el borro grande" by the natives. From the time of Hernando de Alarcón it had always presented a problem to the prospective navigator. Spring tides at Montague Island rise vertically about ten and one-half feet, which is almost double the height of those at Cape San

Lucas. By the time they reach the river channel they increase to more than thirty feet, and tidal currents become violent. Observations have been made which show a vertical rise of water approximating ten feet in five minutes. As early as 1873 the *Sentinel* carried an interesting account of this phenomenon.

> The spring tides of the Gulf run to a height of thirty feet. This expanded volume of the waters of the Gulf is coincident with the spring floods of the Colorado River. When the two come together, they form what is called a "bore." The impetuous waters of the river . . . rise to a height which of their own impetus overflow the banks of that stream. At this moment the extreme spring tides of the Gulf come roaring up the Colorado. In immense volume they encounter the swell of river waters, and the heavier specific gravity of the salt water sends the stream of the Colorado back on itself for miles, with a mighty roar, to which that of the Niagara is tame . . . It is a scene of majesty which . . . can never be forgotten.[150]

The experience of Lieutenant Robert William Hale Hardy with the "bore" is an interesting one. On entering the mouth of the river in 1826, his ship, the *Bruja,* was struck by the bore with so terrific a shock that the rudder was snapped. She was thrown ashore, where she remained high and dry for eight days until flood tide again reached and refloated her.[151]

A second problem arose from the excessive load of silt deposited at the river delta. To overcome the hazard of striking these hidden bars, it was customary to wait for flood tide and ride in over the danger area. Once inside the river channel the problem became one of avoiding the sand bars caused by the constantly changing course of the river. It was impossible to chart a river course which would be reliable for more than several hours, and consequently the most experienced river pilots were required to "tie up" along the bank during the night to await daybreak before proceeding. One of the characteristic features of any river steamer was the Indian stationed at the bow, stripped to the breeze, with a long, cottonwood, sounding pole in his hand. At frequent intervals he plunged the pole into the water to take soundings, which he called back to the captain or which he communicated to him by simply raising the pole so that the captain could see the water mark and judge the depth for himself. As deck hands the Indians were paid fifty cents a day. "Not being able to count money, each native kept a tally of the number of days he worked by tying knots in a string he wore around his neck. Each knot recorded a day's work. An Indian demanded as many half-dollars as he had knots on his string."[152]

The "desert pilot" devised his own methods of combatting the problems of navigation. If the vessel ran on a bar, he might resort to several methods to get her off. The boat might be rocked off, if the pilot were skillful, or she might be pried loose. Often patience was the only solution to the problem, for if the boat were allowed to remain long enough, the changing current would eventually wash her free. Captain Mellon is said to have remained in such a position for fifty-two days.[153] If the vessel was in very shallow water, the pilot, by using the stern paddle wheel to cut through the silt, often backed the steamer upstream when it became impossible to proceed bow first. In case the barge became stranded, the steamer could be eased down close to her, and, by spinning the paddle wheel, a sufficiently strong current might be raised to wash her free.

Fuel for the "Arizona Fleet" was collected as the boat progressed upstream. Native mesquite and cottonwood timber growing along the river were the chief sources of supply, and fuel stations were established at intervals of twenty-five miles. Here the Indians were taught to cut and cord the wood into the required lengths, and for their services they were paid two dollars and fifty cents a cord at the fueling station.

The great seasonal variation in the volume of water on the Colorado created still another problem. During extremely dry periods as little as one thousand second feet have been measured,[154] whereas a peak flood measurement of 150,000 second feet was recorded in June 1909.[155] In both extremes little could be done except wait for conditions to revert to normal. Because of the definite dry season, it was generally conceded that to operate successfully on the Colorado, a boat must of necessity be one of light draft, usually sixteen inches to two feet. To the desert pilot who seriously considered the possibilities of navigating an Arizona mirage, "Five feet was practically no bottom," and when the "leadsman called 'scant four' . . . the pilot did not snatch the boat back, reverse engines, pull bells, and shout down the tube to the engineer. He merely wiped his brow and reflected that the river must be rising."[156]

The immediate effect of these many problems was to be seen in the impossibility of maintaining a definite sailing schedule on the Colorado. Schedules on the lower river between La Paz, Yuma, Ehrenberg, and Olive City were fairly dependable, but above these points, if arrival was made within a week or two of the time specified, conditions were considered average. The period of time occupied on a voyage depended on the good fortune of the pilot, the steamer, and the stage of the river. When the vessel was loaded, a speed of five or six miles an hour upstream was a good average. In 1872 the *Sentinel* reported that Captain Mellon with the steamer *Cocopah* made the round trip from Yuma to Mohave, a distance of 232 miles, in five days.[157] In August, a year later, the *Mohave* covered the same run with a barge in tow in seventy-two hours, the "fastest time ever made on the Colorado River."[158] Another exceptional run was made in September 1873 from Yuma to the mouth of the river and return, a distance of 340 miles, in six days including stops.[159]

The first indication of a decline in steam navigation on the Colorado River came in 1876. Two years earlier, in December 1874, business was temporarily thrown off schedule when the steamer *Montana* was wrecked in the Gulf of California. She was towed back to San Francisco for repairs and was operating again by March 1875. Misfortune continued to stalk her. On December 14, 1876, she caught fire off Cape Harrow, and the ship and cargo were a total loss.[160] Passengers and crew were rescued and taken to the office of the United States consul at Guaymas, where they were forced to remain until picked up by the *Newbern.* The *Sentinel* carried a complete account of the accident and stated that the *Montana* was insured for $60,000.[161] On January 20 it was announced that the Colorado Steam Navigation Company had replaced the *Montana* with the 1,077-ton steamer *Idaho.* She arrived on her first voyage on February 7, 1877, bringing 450 tons of freight, and returned on the ninth.[162] A second voyage was made in April. She returned to San Francisco with twenty-five passengers, 220 tons of freight, and $177,081 in treasure.[163] By 1876 other factors contributed to the decline of the river trade. The Arizona and New Mexico Express Company, a $500,000 concern, and the California-Arizona Stage Lines began a tri-weekly service delivering passengers and mail from San Francisco to the Colorado in five and one-half days. This decreased the time in transit by one-half and appropriated much of the passenger traffic formerly going to the navigation company.

In April 1877, the long awaited Southern Pacific Railroad reached Yuma, and the fate of steam navigation on the Colorado River was sealed. Train service began early in May, and on the 19th of that month the navigation company abruptly ceased advertising for freight and passengers. Shortly thereafter, the picturesque "Arizona Fleet" was sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. The *Newbern* left San Francisco on her last voyage to the mouth of the Colorado on May 16, and a month later she was advertised to sail for Guaymas, La Paz, Mazatlan, and San Lucas. Death, however, was was not instantaneous, and river steamers continued operation in a slowly diminishing degree for the next thirty years. On the river, the headquarters for the bulk of the traffic were now shifted from Port Isabel, on the Gulf, to the new railroad terminal at Yuma, and steamers distributed freight both up and down stream from that point. Before the end of the year the *General Zaragoza* and a second small Mexican craft were the only vessels engaged in the coastwise trade between Yuma and Mazatlan, and the once thriving Port Isabel fell into decay.[164] From a bustling river port in the seventies, Yuma became a much faded railroad town; her days of prosperity ended. Writing in 1880 a reporter stated: "The population, which three years ago exceeded 1,500, is now reduced to less than 500 . . . Yuma has a look of having seen better days . . ."[165] Five years later the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad crossed the river at Needles, bringing relief to the merchants of the upper Colorado and forcing the river steamers still farther into the background of unimportance in the life of Arizona. Between 1880 and 1887 the *Gila* and a small 56-foot sloop, the *Southwester,* were engaged in the salt trade between the Mormon settlement at Rioville, at the junction of the Virgin and Colorado rivers, and the mining camp at El Dorado.[166] There were thirty-nine such voyages made, the *Gila* carrying about 60 tons and the sloop 18. The salt was used in processing the ore at El Dorado. After the mines closed in 1887 it was reported that no boat ever passed above that point. By 1890, the *Gila* and *Mohave No. 2* alone remained of the once prosperous "Arizona Fleet." One or the other made a trip once a month from Yuma to the upriver landings if freight demanded,[167] but a reliable report states that the "commerce of the river above El Dorado Canyon is practically nothing."[168] In 1899 the *Gila,* last survivor of the fleet, was remodeled at Yuma and cut down to 159 feet in length. She was renamed the *Cochan.* This same year the *St. Vallier* was built at Needles and placed on the river.[169] In 1903 it was reported that these two boats were handling a total of less than five hundred tons of trade a year below Yuma, and very little above.[170] During the first quarter of the twentieth century the *Searchlight*, owned and operated by Charles M. Smith, the *Katie Lloyd*, owned and operated by Captain David Lloyd, and the *Retta, Electra,* and *Silas J. Lewis*[171] were constructed. They carried on a negligible trade with the mining camps of Lower California and were engaged in the reclamation service on the delta for a number of years.

It is difficult to understand the reason for the sudden interest on the part of the United States Government in the extension of navigation on the Colorado after the river trade had begun its decline. However, no less than a half-dozen surveys were conducted on the river between 1869 and 1903 to determine the advisability of spending money to clear the channel and improve its navigability. With but two exceptions these reports all agreed that the river was unworthy of improvement. The first of these, July 5, 1884, provided twenty-five thousand dollars for the improvement of the channel between Mohave and El Dorado Canyon, and the second, July 13, 1892, provided ten thousand dollars for the construction of a levee along the Gila River.[172]

Thus the story of steam navigation on the Colorado River drew to a close. In a sense, it is merely the last chapter of a much older story dating back to within fifty years of the discovery of the New World by Columbus. For two and one-half centuries the Spanish explored and mapped much of the river and laid plans for converting it into a highway for the support of the missions of Baja California. The search for beaver in the first half of the eighteenth century led to a re-exploration of the entire area by the American trapper, but it was the discovery of gold in California and the rush of emigrants westward which led to the development of steam navigation. The immediate incentive was the need of supplying the military post at Yuma, placed there for the protection of the emigrants. The years from 1850 to 1864 represent a period of experimentation, during which the ocean route from San Francisco to the mouth of the river was opened and steam vessels were introduced on the Colorado. A period of expansion and rivalry followed. Mines were developed and attempts were made to extend steam service to the Mormon empire of Utah. The peak period of the river trade from

1870 to 1877 was one of great activity. Steam service was extended from Yuma to San Francisco, and sailing vessels disappeared from the ocean route. Mountains of freight, yards and docks humming with activity, and the picturesque river steamers industriously splashing the waters of the Colorado from Port Isabel to El Dorado Canyon, are indicative of the river trade at its best. For three decades the Colorado River was the life line through which the heavy machinery for the mines of Arizona came, and the ore, wool, hides, and pelts were sent to market. With the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Yuma in 1877, river trade abruptly ceased. Today the crumbling ruins of ghost towns and mining camps along the river, like the once prosperous "Arizona Fleet," are but recollections of an age gone by. Its significance, however, cannot be overestimated; indeed, the history of Arizona and the development of the Southwest, in many respects, can be told in terms of the development of steam navigation on the Colorado River.

NOTES

108. Hazel Mills, "The Arizona Fleet," *American Neptune*, III (1941), 265.

109. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Scraps; Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 2, 211.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

111. San Francisco *Alta California*, March 20, 1867.

112. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, February 22, 1873.

113. *Ibid.* Contrary to the account given in the *Miner*, the customhouse records list both the *Gila* and *Mohave No. 2* as 149 feet long, and the *Sentinel*, September 28, 1878, states that the *Mohave No. 2* was 155 feet in length.

114. Frank C. Lockwood, "Steamboat Captain on the Colorado," *Desert Magazine*, XVI (June 1941), 13. Polhamus' "Grand Excursions" were advertised throughout the Southwest from Yuma to San Francisco.

115. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

116. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878.

117. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1876.

118. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1876. The United States Bureau of Navigation lists the dimensions of the *Mohave No. 2* as follows: Length of keel, 149.5 feet; breadth, 31.6 feet; depth, 3.1 feet; and tonnage, 188.03 tons. See U. S. Bureau of Navigation, *Merchant Vessels of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1892), p. 329.

119. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 28, 1878. In 1874 the *Nina Tilden* was discarded, and four years later the *Colorado No. 2* ceased operation. She was moored near Fort Yuma but was seldom used.

120. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, July 5, 1873.

121. The *Newbern* was built at Brooklyn, New York, in 1852. See Appendix "A."

122. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, August 5, 1871. The following advertisement was the first to appear in the *Miner:* "The Colorado Steam Navigation Company's Steamship *Newbern* leaves San Francisco for the mouth of the Colorado River on the first of every month, connecting with river boats. Freight landed at Yuma in twelve (12) days from San Francisco."

123. The community of Ehrenberg was named for Herman Ehrenberg, Arizona mineralogist. It was laid out in 1867 and became one of the leading river ports.

124. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, September 30, 1871, and March 9, 1872.

125. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1873. The *Montana* was a 1,004-ton, wooden, screw propeller

type vessel, valued at $75,000. She was built at Bath, Maine, in 1865. Purchase was made from the Pacific Mail Steamship Co.

126. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, January 4, 1873.

127. Both of these barges were in use for some twelve to fifteen years. In 1878 the *White Fawn* was being used as a wharf boat at Port Isabel.

128. The *Pumpkin Seed*, loaded with iron, filled with water during a heavy storm in 1867 and sank.

129. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, February 18, 1871. The *Miner* announced that the *Colorado No.* 2 had arrived at Hardyville with a barge containing two hundred tons of freight. This was the largest cargo ever transported up the river by one boat, according to the same paper.

130. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, October 5, 1872.

131. *Ibid.*, January 1874 to 1876. This was the only period for which complete files were available, but, since freight notices were not always recorded, it cannot be considered complete.

132. Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona As It Is* (New York, 1877), p. 208.

133. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, December 19, 1873.

134. See, for instance, Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, April 27, June 29, September 21, 1872, March 22, 1873, and Prescott *Arizona Miner*, March 8, 1873; also Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

135. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, January 4, 1873.

136. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, May 29, 1874.

137. Frank Rolfe, "Trip to Arizona," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, XIV, Part 3 (1930), 374. From a letter of Miss Franc V. Bishop, who visited Arizona by way of the Colorado River.

138. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, February 17, 1872.

139. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1872.

140. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, April 27, 1872.

141. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1872.

142. *Ibid.*, August 17 and 31, 1872.

143. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, November 2, 1872.

144. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, November 30, 1872.

145. Albert H. Payson, "Examination and Survey of the Colorado of the West," *Annual Report of Engineers*, 1879, p. 1779.

146. Prescott *Arizona Miner*, May 1, 1874.

147. Captain Robinson came to the Colorado in 1852 as mate on the transport *Invincible* under Captain Wilcox. He returned to the river the following year and was employed by the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. He took command of the *Explorer* for Lieutenant Ives on her voyage up the Colorado in 1857. The *Sentinel*, August 1, 1874, carries an account of his death.

148. See Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16. Isaac Polhamus was born in New York in 1828. As a boy he acquired steamboat experience working for his father on the Hudson River. He came to California by way of Cape Horn in 1846, a voyage which took 327 days, and went to Arizona in 1856. In 1873 he became superintendent of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company, and after the railroad reached Yuma he continued in business there, running sightseeing tours up the Colorado. For sixty-six years he was a leading figure in Yuma, and he died there in January 1922 at the age of ninety-four.

149. Miss Mills, *op. cit.*, states that Jack Mellon was a native of Nova Scotia. He went to sea at the age of nine, shipped over most of the world and, as has been shown, came to the Colorado in 1864 with Thomas E. Trueworthy.

150. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel*, September 6, 1873. See also Godfrey Sykes, "The Colorado Delta," *American Geographical Society*, Special Publication No. 19 (Baltimore, 1937),

pp. 49-50. Sykes has a most reliable and interesting account of the tidal bore based on actual notes taken from a ten-day study at the mouth of the river.

151. See also James Ohio Pattie, *Personal Narrative,* (Cincinnati, 1831), p. 241, and Rolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 374. Miss Bishop states that it was a common experience to go to bed on the steamer with a view of only the banks and to find on awakening that, although the vessel was anchored in the same place, the banks had disappeared and inundated country was visible for miles on all sides.

152. Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

153. Martha Summerhays, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman* (Salem, 1911), pp. 52-53.

154. Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

156. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

157. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel,* June 29, 1872. This should be compared with a similar trip in February, six years earlier, when forty-one days were required to cover the same distance.

158. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1873.

159. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1873.

160. There is record of the loss of but three other vessels in the entire history of navigation on the Colorado. The first of these was the schooner *Arno* near Robinson's Landing in 1859. See San Francisco *Alta California,* March 30, 1859. The second was the *E. A. Rawlins,* which sailed from San Francisco on June 27, 1862. The third was the *Victoria* previously mentioned, which arrived on the Colorado in 1864.

161. Yuma *Arizona Sentinel,* December 23, 1876.

162. *Ibid.*, January 20, and February 17, 1877.

163. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1877. Both the *Montana* and *Idaho* were built at Bath, Maine, in 1865 and 1866 respectively. They were owned by George F. Patten and Jarvis Patten, of Bath, and were later sold to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. See George A. Preble and F. S. Partridge, *A Complete Schedule of Vessels* Built and Registered at Bath, Maine (Bath, 1879), pp. 43-44.

164. Prescott *Arizona Miner,* June 21, 1878. Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 34, states that Port Isabel was dismantled early in 1878.

165. Bancroft, "Scraps: Arizona Miscellany," LXXXII, Pt. 1, 133.

166. The sloop *Southwester* was a 56-foot boat drawing 2 feet of water. Concerning her fate, Hazel Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 273, writes: "The captain intrusted her to a Swede sailor, and she met her end on one of the canyon walls at Short and Dirty Rapids in extreme high water. A few months later when Mellon passed the spot . . . there forty feet above the river he saw the remains . . . wrapped around a pinnacle of rock."

167. William H. H. Benyaurd, "Preliminary Examination of Colorado River, Arizona above Yuma to El Dorado Canyon to Determine the Advisability and Probable Cost of Improving said River," 51st Cong. 2d sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 18 (1890), p. 3.

168. James J. Meyler, "Preliminary Examination of the Colorado River, Between El Dorado Canyon and Rioville, Nevada," 56th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Misc. Doc. 67 (1900) p. 6.

169. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Navigation, *Merchant Vessels of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1899-1914). The *Cochan* had a 135-foot keel, 31-foot beam, a 3-foot hold, and her capacity was 234 tons. She was not listed as being in service after 1908. The *St. Vallier* was 74.3 feet in length, 17.1 feet in breadth, and 3.4 feet in depth, with a capacity of 92 tons. She operated in 1913 but was not listed as being in service after 1914.

170. Edgar Jadwin, "Preliminary Examination of the Colorado River, Arizona and California, from Yuma to the Mexican Boundary Line," 58th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Misc. Doc. 204 (1903), p. 4.

171. The *Silas J. Lewis* was later converted into a suction-dredge by the California Development Company. See Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

172. Jadwin, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

APPENDIX A

Steam Vessels Employed in the River Service 1852-1909

Uncle Sam: side-wheel steamer; overall length 65 ft.; beam 15 ft.; estimated tonnage 40; constructed, San Francisco; began operation on Colorado River December 1852.

General Jesup: side-wheel steamer; overall length 104 ft.; beam 17 ft.; estimated tonnage 49-63/95; constructed, San Francisco; began operation on Colorado River February 1854.

Colorado: stern-wheel steamer; overall length 120 ft.; estimated tonnage 60 to 80; constructed, Estuary; began operation on Colorado River December 1855.

Explorer: stern-wheel steamer (iron); overall length 54 ft.; constructed, Philadelphia; began operation on Colorado River December 1857.

Cocopah No. 1: stern-wheel steamer; overall length 140 ft.; beam 29 ft.; estimated tonnage 100; constructed, Gridiron on Estuary; began operation on Colorado River September 1859.

Mohave: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 133 ft.; beam 28 ft.; estimated tonnage 192.61; constructed, Yuma; began operation on Colorado River 1863.

Esmeralda: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 93 ft.; overall length 97 to 130 ft.; beam 20 ft.; estimated tonnage 46-85/95; constructed, San Francisco; began operation on Colorado River March 1864.

Nina Tilden: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 98 ft.; beam 22 ft.; estimated tonnage 107.40; constructed, San Francisco; began operation on Colorado River July 1864.

Colorado No. 2: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 127 ft.; overall length 145 ft.; beam 26 ft.; estimated tonnage 178.59; constructed, Yuma; began operation on Colorado River 1865.

Cocopah No. 2: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 147.5 ft.; beam 28 ft.; estimated tonnage 231.37; constructed, Yuma; began operation on Colorado River March 1867.

Gila: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 149.47 ft.; overall length 175 ft.; beam 31 ft.; estimated tonnage 236; constructed, Port Isabel; began operation on Colorado River February 1873.

Mohave No. 2: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 149.5 ft.; overall length 175 ft.; beam 31.6 ft.; estimated tonnage 188.03; constructed, Port Isabel; began operation on Colorado River October 1875.

Southwester: Sloop; overall length 56 ft.; beam 15 ft.

Cochan: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 135 ft.; overall length 159 ft.; estimated tonnage 234; constructed, Yuma; began operation on Colorado River 1899.

St. Vallier: stern-wheel steamer; registered length 74.3 ft.; beam 17.1 ft.; estimated tonnage 92; constructed, Needles; began operation on Colorado River 1899.

Searchlight: stern-wheel steamer; overall length 91 ft.; beam 18 ft.

Electra: steamer.

Retta: side-wheel steamer.

Katie Lloyd: steamer.

Steam Vessels Employed on the San Francisco-Port Isabel Run 1871-77

Newbern: steamer; registered length 198.2 ft.; beam 29.1 ft.; estimated tonnage 943; constructed, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1852; began operation August 1871.

Montana: steamer; estimated tonnage 1004; constructed, Bath, Maine 1865; began operation November 1873.

Idaho: steamer; estimated tonnage 1077; constructed, Bath, Maine 1866; began operation February 1877.

Barges in Use on the Colorado River

Black Crook: overall length 128 ft.; beam 28 ft.; estimated tonnage 31; began operation on the Colorado River 1864.

White Fawn: began operation on the Colorado River 1864.

Barge No. 1: estimated tonnage 106.

Barge No. 2: estimtaed tonnage 125.

Barge No. 3: estimated tonnage 136.

Barge No. 4: overall length 165 ft.; beam 33 ft.; estimated tonnage 185; constructed, Yuma; began operation on the Colorado River September 1872.

El Dorado

Veagas

Yuma

Silas J. Lewis: overall length 115 ft.; beam 35 ft.

APPENDIX B

Compiled List of Sea-going Vessels Engaged in the San Francisco-Colorado River Trade 1850 to 1877

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
1850			
Invincible	Schooner	Derby	Sailed November 1
1851			
None			
1852			
Sierra Nevada	Schooner	Wilcox	Sailed January 24
Capacity	Schooner	Driscoll	Cleared August 1
1853			
General Viel	Brig	Hasty	October 7
General Patterson	Schooner	?	Known to have been on river in May
1854			
General Patterson	Schooner	?	Unknown
1855			
Falmouth	Schooner	Meyer	Cleared May 5
Monterey	Schooner	Belcher	Known to have been on river in April
George Emery	Brig	Trask	Sailed July 25
Taranto	Schooner	Sanger	Sailed October 12
General Patterson	Schooner	Nagle	Sailed November 29

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
1856			
Brisa	Schooner	Gejnolea	Known to have been on river in January
Brisa	Schooner	Grey	Known to have been on river in April
J. S. Cabot	Brig	Holmes	Sailed September 18
Monterey	Schooner	Belcher	Sailed December 3
General Patterson	Schooner	?	?
1857			
Humboldt	Schooner	?	Sailed June 3
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Sailed June 13
Acadia	Barque	Merrithew	Sailed June ?
General Patterson	Schooner	Nagle	Sailed September 1
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Sailed September 21
Elizabeth	Schooner	Bogart	Sailed December 8
1858			
Victoria	Schooner	Kremp	Sailed January 10
General Morgan	Schooner	Way	Sailed January 17
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Sailed February 18
Manuel	Brig	Payno	Sailed March 18
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Sailed June 10
Olivia	Schooner	?	Sailed August 2
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Sailed September 29
Flying Dart	Schooner	Freeman	Sailed December 13
Arno	Schooner	Gates	Sailed February 5
1859			
Uncle Sam	Steamer	Huntington	Sailed February 17
Santa Cruz	Steamer	?	Cleared March ?
Franklin Adams	Brig	Adams	Sailed April 22
Alert	Schooner	Bean	Sailed June 30
Floyd	Brig	Hussey	Sailed July 25
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Way	Sailed August 30
Franklin Adams	Brig	Collins	Sailed November 22
Flying Dart	Schooner	?	Cleared March ?
Monterey	Schooner	Walsh	Cleared March ?
Carmelita	Barque	?	Cleared March ?
1860			
Floyd	Brig	?	Sailed January 11
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Way	Sailed February 10
Floyd	Brig	Walsh	Sailed April 16
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Way	Sailed May 24
Franklin Adams	Brig	Bean	Sailed August 9
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Way	Sailed October 2
1861			
Manuela	Brig	Burr	Sailed January 22
Floyd	Brig	Walsh	Sailed April 11
Manuela	Brig	Burr	Sailed June 7
Alert	Schooner	Falkner	Sailed September 30
Fanny Major	Barque	Higgins	Sailed December 29

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
		1862	
W. D. Rice	Brig	Buddington	Sailed March 4
J. A. Bayard	Schooner	Winding	Sailed March 1
General Jesup	Brig	Walsh	Sailed April 5
Pride of the Sea	Brig	Garcia	Sailed April 21
Sarah	Schooner	Rutherford	Sailed June 22
E. A. Rawlins	Barque	Way	Sailed June 27
Franklin Adams	Brig	Bean	Sailed July 9
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed August 7
Rosarito	Schooner	Aquilar	Sailed August 10
Manuela	Brig	Burr	Sailed September 15
Morning Light	Schooner	Pierson	?
		1863	
Sarah	Schooner	Rutherford	Sailed January 25
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed April 7
Hidalgo	Brig	Doodley	Cleared June 16
Emanuela	Brig	?	Known to have been on river in August.
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Sweet	Sailed August 15
J. B. Ford	Schooner	Knipe	Sailed September 5
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed October 27
Hidalgo	Brig	Standard	Sailed November 5
Carib	Barque	De Blois	Sailed December 19
Franklin Adams	Brig	Burr	Sailed December 25
Angenette	Brig	Trask	Known to have been on river in December
		1864	
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Sweet	Sailed February 5
Victoria	Schooner	?	Sailed February 17
J. B. Ford	Schooner	Knipe	Sailed March 4
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed March 24
Toando	Schooner	Keller	Sailed March 27
Potter	Schooner	Roberts	Cleared April 8
Josephine	Brig	Standard	Sailed April 17
Sophie B.	Schooner	Burt	Sailed April 27
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed May 9
Fannie Frisbie	Schooner	Hillyear	Sailed May 23
Sovereign	Schooner	Avery	Sailed July 2
J. B. Ford	Schooner	Knipe	Sailed July 21
Alice	Schooner	Winding	Sailed July 1
Storm Cloud	Schooner	Sweet	Sailed July 28
Sophie B.	Schooner	Wilcox	Sailed October 17
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed October 18
W. L. Richardson	Schooner	Godwin	Sailed October 13
Sovereign	Schooner	Avery	Sailed November 22
Sarah	Schooner	Hewitt	Known to have been on river in November
		1865	
Mary Ellen	Schooner	Fake	Sailed March 8
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed March 22
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed March 23

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
		1865 (Continued)	
Sovereign	Schooner	Lemman	Sailed September 5
Isabel	Schooner	Avery	Sailed May 10
J.B.Ford	Brig	Pierce	Known to have been on river in May
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed July 17
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed July 25
J.B.Ford	Brig	Knipe	Sailed August 9
W.L.Richardson	Schooner	Felker	Sailed August 21
Florence	Schooner	Avery	Sailed October 31
General Jesup	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed December 4
W.L.Richardson	Schooner	Felker	Sailed December 31
Toando	Schooner	Tuttle	Sailed October 31
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed October 19
J.B.Ford	Brig	Pierce	Sailed December 22
		1866	
Josephine	Brig	Bogart	Sailed January 4
Timandra	Brig	Howes	Sailed January 21
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed February 8
Oregon	Steamer	Dall	Sailed February 18
Florence	Schooner	Avery	Sailed March 10
Wm.Irelan	Schooner	Niles	Sailed March 27
J.B.Ford	Brig	Pierce	Sailed April 10
Arizona	Schooner	Rutherford	Known to have been on river in March
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed May 1
Oregon	Steamer	Dall	Sailed May 12
Wm.L.Richardson	Schooner	Felker	Sailed May 24
Delaware	Barque	Shillaber	Sailed June 12
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed June 17
Sovereign	Schooner	Sweet	?
Keoka	Barque	Emery	Sailed July 8
Josephine	Brig	Bogart	Sailed July 26
Wm.Irelan	Schooner	Niles	Sailed August 1
J.B.Ford	Brig	Pierce	Sailed August 23
Alice	Schooner	Winding	Sailed September 18
Merchantman	Brig	Knipe	Sailed September 21
Juventa	Schooner	Goodrum	Sailed October 8
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed October 26
Florence	Schooner	Avery	Sailed October 30
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed December 7
		1867	
J.B.Ford	Brig	Pierce	Sailed January 3
Josephine	Brig	Bogart	Sailed January 22
Juventa	Schooner	Goodrum	Sailed February 9
Merchantman	Brig	Knipe	Sailed March 4
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed March 26
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed April 7
Dreadnaught	Schooner	Perriman	Sailed May 3
J.B.Ford	Schooner	Pierce	Sailed May 19

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
		1867 (Continued)	
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed June 15
Merchantman	Brig	Knipe	Sailed July 9
Juventa	Schooner	Goodrum	Sailed July 9
Laura	Brig	Miller	Sailed July 28
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed August 10
J. B. Ford	Brig	Pierce	Sailed August 21
Admiral	Brig	Newbery	Sailed August 31
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed September 27
Merchantman	Brig	Lamb	Sailed October 24
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed November 9
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed December 6
J. B. Ford	Brig	Felker	Sailed December 27
		1868	
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed January 8
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed February 3
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed February 16
Merchantman	Brig	Lamb	Sailed March 7
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed April 1
J. B. Ford	Brig	Felker	Sailed April 18
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed May 5
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed May 28
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed June 13
Merchantman	Brig	Lamb	Sailed July 12
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed July 21
J. B. Ford	Brig	Felker	Sailed July 31
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed August 15
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed September 7
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed October 3
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed November 1
J. B. Ford	Brig	Felker	Sailed November 8
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed November 27
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed December 31
		1869	
Merchantman	Brig	Lamb	Sailed February 6
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed March 2
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed March 20
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed April 10
Josephine	Brig	Rudolfe	Sailed April 26
Sparrow	Brig	Standard	Sailed May 19
Merchantman	Brig	Standard	Sailed June 6
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed June 19
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed July 7
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed July 20
Clara Bell	Barque	Freeman	Sailed July 30
Legal Tender	Schooner	Lemman	Sailed August 8
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed September 1
Fanny Hare	Schooner	Green	Sailed September 19

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
		1869 (Continued)	
Merchantman	Brig	Standard	Sailed September 29
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed October 9
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed November 9
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed November 26
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed December 20
		1870	
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed January 1
Merchantman	Brig	Bradford	Sailed January 9
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed January 28
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed February 5
Juventa	Schooner	Hall	Sailed March 5
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed March 22
Clara Bell	Barque	Pierce	Sailed April 15
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed April 30
Merchantman	Brig	Bradford	Sailed May 28
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed June 20
Laura	Brig	McIsaac	Sailed June 29
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed July 15
Clara Bell	Barque	Sears	Sailed July 30
Fannie Hare	Schooner	Green	Sailed August 28
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed September 19
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed October 1
Enterprise	Schooner	McAllep	Sailed October 20
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed October 26
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed November 20
Clara Bell	Barque	Sears	Sailed December 24
		1871	
Josephine	Brig	McDonough	Sailed February 8
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Cleared March 11
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed April 9
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed May 30
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed July 2 (first voyage)
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed August 5
Laura	Brig	Dougherty	Sailed August 14
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed September 16
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed October 21
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed December 4
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed December 6
Idaho	Steamer	Metzgar	Sailed December 22
		1872	
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed January 12
Ocean Pearl	Schooner	Bruce	Sailed February 3
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed February 14
Alice Haake	Schooner	Goodwin	Sailed February 26
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed March 21
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed April 7
Josephine	Brig	Bean	Sailed May 5

Name of Vessel	Type	Captain	Date Sailed or Cleared from San Francisco
		1872 (Continued)	
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed May 11
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed June 12
Alice Haake	Schooner	Eggert	Sailed June 19
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed July 1
Isabel	Schooner	Pierson	Sailed July 18
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed August 3
Josephine	Brig	Bean	Sailed September 2
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed September 11
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed October 20
Fannie Hare	Schooner	Christian	Sailed November 24
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed November 27
		1873	
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed January 4
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed March 15
Curlew	Brig	Hogthorp	Sailed March 25
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed April 23
Fannie Hare	Schooner	Jones	Sailed April 26
Newbern	Steamer	McDonough	Sailed June 14
J. B. Ford	Brig	Weeks	Sailed July 3

Thereafter the *Newbern,* Captain McDonough, sailed from San Francisco on July 24, August 30, October 4, November 15, and December 28, 1873, and the steamer *Montana,* Captain Metzger, on October 25 (her first voyage) and December 6. During 1874 and 1875 the *Montana* and *Newbern* each sailed from San Francisco seven times a year, and the sloop *Colorado,* Captain Boise, sailed on October 20, 1875. The *Newbern* made nine trips and the *Montana* eight in 1876; and in 1877 the *Idaho,* Captain Douglass, sailed on January 23 and March 15, and the *Newbern* on February 16, April 4, and May 16.

The American Occupations of Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores

By JEANNE SKINNER VAN NOSTRAND

WHEN on August 3, 1942, United States Marines took over the historic Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores, in San Diego County, for a training center, it was the second time this old Mexican land grant had been occupied by American forces.

The first occupation of the ranch by an armed American force took place during the War with Mexico. In January 1847, General Stephen Watts Kearny and his men, nearly a month after the bloody battle of San Pascual, while on their way north, pitched camp on the ranch.[1] General Kearny met with no resistance. The owners of the property Andrés and Pío Pico, had prudently "vamoosed" ahead of the approaching Americans. General Kearny's camp site was a tract of land that had originally been known as the Rancho San Onofre y Santa Margarita. A grant of 89,742 acres of the tract was made in 1841 by Governor Juan B. Alvarado to Andrés and Pío Pico. In 1844 the Pico brothers acquired the adjoining Las Flores property from the Indians, and their combined holdings were known as the Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores. Later, part of the ex-mission lands of San Juan Capistrano were added by a subsequent owner, making a total of some 133,440 acres[2] which extended along the coast from the present site of Oceanside to San Clemente and inland along the course of the Santa Margarita River for a distance of fifteen miles. The valley was first named "Santa Margarita" by the Portola expedition in July 1769.[3]

Linked with the history of the Santa Margarita district is the career of an Englishman, John Forster, better known as Don Juan Forster, who married Ysidora Pico, sister of Andrés and Pío, in 1837. In 1844 he acquired the lands formerly belonging to the Mission San Juan Capistrano on which he ran his ever-increasing herds of cattle. As the years passed, Forster's cattle fattened and the Forsters prospered, while the Picos on the neighboring Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores fared less and less well. In 1862 Pío Pico bought his brother Andrés' half interest in the rancho, but by 1864 the impecunious Pío had scattered promissory notes with a lavish hand over California as far north as the offices of Pioche and Bayerque, San Francisco money lenders.[4] Forster, who had helped his brother-in-law many times before, now assumed the indebtedness and took over the ranch entirely. He moved into the adobe house and proceeded to enlarge and improve the buildings. Meanwhile, his son Marcos commenced building a substantial adobe on the Las Flores part of the ranch. The Forsters' cattle business was one of the foremost in the state for many years, and John Forster became a wealthy and influential man. However, numerous and long-drawn-out lawsuits over ownership and water rights[5] at last brought about Forster's financial collapse. He died in February 1882, and a few months later the ranch was sold by his heirs to Richard O'Neill. Shortly thereafter O'Neill transferred control of the ranch to James Flood of San Francisco.[6] O'Neill continued to live on the ranch and to conduct its affairs until his death, when these duties were assumed by his son, Jerome O'Neill. In 1906 the O'Neill interests received a deed for a half interest in the ranch. Through all its vicissitudes the ranch had remained undivided.[7]

The second military occupation of the Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores, nearly a hundred years after General Kearny's visit, occurred in 1942, when the historic ranch became Camp Joseph H. Pendleton. In March 1942 the United States Navy Department announced the purchase of approximately 123,000 acres of the ranch for the largest Marine Corps base in the country. The camp was named in honor of the late Major General Joseph H. Pendleton, U. S. Marine Corps, who had served in the Philippines, Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, and was dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on September 25, 1942.

The present "occupying force" is aware of the historic significance of the Camp Pendleton site, and the old Santa Margarita adobe, the adjacent winery and bunk house, and Las Flores ranch house have been restored and will be preserved. The Santa Margarita residencia,[8] built in the 1820's, will serve as a hospice for distinguished guests; the even older winery is now the museum and reception hall for visitors; and the bunk house contains the reception center office, a recreation room, and living quarters of the ranch hands. The Las Flores adobe, built in 1867, stands twelve miles to the westward and a few hundred yards from the ruins of Las Flores *estacion* of Mission San Luis Rey. The 115-year-old bell which was originally used at Las Flores *estacion* now hangs at the west gate of the Santa Margarita residencia.[9]

The marines stationed at Camp Pendleton are learning to handle boats and equipment in the surf that breaks on the long beach line of Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores and are training for combat duty over approximately 120,000 acres of the ranch's hills and canyons.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, George W. Ames, Jr., ed., "A Doctor Comes to California, the Diary of John S. Griffin," this *Quarterly*, XXI (December 1942), 347.

2. R. W. Brackett, *A History of the Ranchos of San Diego County*, (San Diego: Union Title Insurance & Trust Company, 1939), pp. 44, 46.

3. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), p. 133.

4. See Henry R. Wagner, "Edward Bosqui, Printer and Man of Affairs," this *Quarterly*, XXI (December 1942), 329, and Terry E. Stephenson, *Forster vs. Pico* (Santa Ana,

Calif.: Fine Arts Press, 1936), p. 11. The ranch was mortgaged to Pioche & Bayerque for about $44,000, at 3 per cent per month. This debt, together with many other outstanding notes, caused the Picos to fear a deficiency judgment which would have jeopardized every acre they owned. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills . . .* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library), 1941, p. 152.

5. For a detailed account of these suits see Stephenson, *op. cit.*

6. According to the San Diego *Union*, November 29, 1882, the price paid by O'Neill was $250,000, and that paid by Flood, $450,000; but Mr. M. Hall McAllister writes that he was told by a man who attended the auction in San Diego that the property was sold for only $40,000, or 20c an acre for the 200,000 acres, and that O'Neill and Flood had to spend immediately an equal sum for a resurvey of the land, squatters' suits, fences, unpaid taxes, etc.

7. Information from the U. S. Marine Corps, San Francisco office, and *Camp Joseph H. Pendleton formerly Rancho Santa Margarita* [n. p.,: U. S. Marine Corps, 1943].

8. Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Benjamin Hayes, *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1929), p. 118.

9. See Note 7.

More about Railroading in California in the Seventies

The Fire Train

From the Reminiscences of CLARENCE M. WOOSTER

DURING the summer of 1878, I was promoted and given charge of Summit station, which automatically made me one of the crew of the snowplow and of the fire train—a responsible position with a good salary for a kid of twenty. Carrying with me a telegraphic outfit, I would cut the wire and open the telegraphic communication when there was a fire, or when the plow jumped the track or encountered other difficulties which blocked the road. We "batched" in comfortable quarters adjoining the office. Lou Banvard, the night operator, and Sam Jacobs, the Western Union line supervisor, and later Charley Shearer, washed the dishes while I acted as chef. We had almost everything which we were capable of preparing and eating, including the delicious frozen oysters that then were available, the best of beef from Joe Marsden's Truckee shop, Mohr and York's "Our Taste" hams and bacon, Booth & Company's groceries, and a bread basket thrice weekly from Sacramento. Our total living cost was but twelve dollars a month for each person. That was before hidden taxation had spread its insidious toll over all the food and raiment of mankind. A three-story, frame hotel, conducted by Jim Cardwell, adjoined the Summit office. The roofs of the flat sheds extended to the second floor, over a distance of forty feet. Their tops afforded a very delightful promenade down along the side of Summit Valley and gave to the hotel a well shaded foreground which served pleasingly as a lounge. Summer guests came from the Bay cities, Sacramento and other sources, seeking the cool and refreshing air of that altitude.

This helped to relieve the monotony. However our duties were quite exacting, particularly because of the fire alarm gong, beyond whose sound we dared not venture. The shining little engine, "Bald Eagle," and the three tank cars stood in front of the office. The big gong would strike a box number which indicated the location of the fire. I would rush to the engine and blow five short blasts of the whistle, and the crew and track men would stampede to the train. Within a minute the train would start. He who missed getting aboard had an account to settle with the "Old Man." The train, built to hug the track which was graded for a maximum speed of twenty-five miles an hour, would roll around those ten-degree curves at a rate as high as fifty-seven miles an hour—a veritable demon whose smoke stack would now and then strike the side of the shed, spreading terror to all hands. This unpretentious pen cannot portray with any degree of adequacy a ride to a snowshed fire on that demon train. Wildly rushing at an outlawed speed, closely confined inside a narrow housing, in constant curvature which reduced visibility to a hundred feet, we placed our trust in God. On a watch depended the certainty of calculations that would avoid a crash into another train, coming or going, or a section gang's car loaded with ties or rails or with the men of the gang. Then there was always danger of running into another fire. Necessarily the fire train ran wild; no schedule protected its right of way to the track.

The family of Superintendent Jerome A. Fillmore spent a summer at the Summit Hotel, and he usually was with them on Sundays. He was playing croquet back of the hotel when the gong rang Box 27. That was Twenty-seven woodshed where a mountain of wood was stacked up adjoining the sheds for winter use. Hearing the gong, Fillmore rushed to the train and, in the effort to get his coat on while running, fell. He yelled for us to wait for him. But Fitzgerald, the engineer, said, "We can't wait for anybody." He did, however, slow down, and the superintendent managed to get aboard. Weighing three hundred pounds, he laboriously climbed up to the fireman's seat in the little cab. By the time he got there we struck the curve at the west end of the Summit yard, and Fillmore was thrown half way through the window. Only his size prevented him from being thrown from the cab. Passing Soda Springs, a similar curve rolled him out over the edges of the broken glass, when he was brought to the realization that his foot was burning against the boiler head. We got him down on the iron floor of the cab and hastily pulled off his boot. "What place was that?" "Cisco," I answered. "Where is the fire?" he yelled. "Twenty-seven woodshed," I answered. "Great God!" exclaimed Fillmore. His facial expression would be envied by the most ardent tragedian. His left side was a mass of bloodstains. We reached the fire before he had gained composure for the journey. Three streams, each of which would knock the planks off the sheds, were at once put into action, and the progress of the fire was soon stopped. Gale's Blue Cañon train had stopped its progress on the west. Between was a raging holocaust fed by a thousand cords of closely laid, pitch-pine wood. Black smoke rose up several hundred feet and broke out in great blazes of fire. The rails coiled up like broken spiral springs.

Fillmore hobbled out some distance and sat on a flat rock nursing his wounds. Toward evening he returned to Summit on an engine detached from a stalled freight train. Both fire trains poured streams of water on that mass of coals for forty hours. Not until the track men had relaid fifteen hundred feet of track was traffic resumed. The fire trains returned to their stations.

We were a dilapidated looking crew of men, on arriving at Summit. Mr. Fillmore and his family were seated in front of the hotel, his foot bandaged and resting on a chair, and his arm also bandaged and in a sling. As I passed him, he returned my salute, with a compliment for the crew's work. Mrs. Fillmore remarked, "Jerome, just look at the condition of those men. If you ever go to another fire on that train I'll get a divorce." Fillmore replied, "If only for that reason I assure you we will never be divorced."

THE AUTHOR

Clarence Marshall Wooster was born at Altaville, California, on December 17, 1858, the son of a 'forty-niner, John Marshall Wooster, and died in San Francisco on June 10, 1939. Several months before his death he placed with the California Historical Society a typewritten copy of his reminiscences, and from that volume excerpts have been published from time to time in this QUARTERLY. These articles are to be found in Vol. XVIII (March, June, and December 1939) and Vol. XX (June 1941).

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Alden, Roland H., and Ifft, John D.

Early Naturalists in the Far West (California Academy of Sciences, *Occasional Papers,* No. XX). San Francisco, 1943. 59 pp., illus. $1.00.

California State Historical Association, comp.

A Partial List of Organizations in California Interested in California History. Second Edition, with Reports of Activities 1935-1940. Los Angeles: The California State Historical Association, 1942. [v] + 127 pp. [Mimeographed.]

Chalfant, W. A.

Tales of the Pioneers. Stanford University: Stanford University Press [1942]. vi + 129 pp., illus. $3.00. Stories of the California-Nevada border counties.

Cross, Lilian A.

Sylvan Recollections, a History of the Sylvan District, Sacramento County, California. 1943. 27 pp. [Mimeographed.]

Cummings, G. A., and Pladwell, E. S.

Oakland, a History [Oakland, California: The Grant D. Miller Mortuaries, Inc., 1942], 119 pp., illus.

DeVoto, Bernard

The Year of Decision, 1846. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943. xv + [2] + 538 pp. $3.50.

Driggs, Howard R.

Westward America. With Reproductions of Forty Water Color Paintings by William H. Jackson. New York: American Pioneer Trails Association [1942]. x + 312 pp.

Farquhar, Francis P.

A Brief Chronology of Discovery in the Pacific Ocean From Balboa to Capt. Cook's First Voyage 1513 to 1770. San Francisco: [Privately printed at The Grabhorn Press], 1943. 15 pp.

Gerstacker, Friedrich

Scenes of Life in California, translated from the French by George Cosgrave. San Francisco: John Howell [1942]. xiii + 188 pp., illus. $5.00.

A limited edition, printed at the Grabhorn Press, with a foreword by the late Robert E. Cowan.

Giffen, Helen S. and Woodward, Arthur

The Story of El Tejon. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1942. 146 pp., illus. $3.50.

Haskell, Daniel C.

The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842 and Its Publications, 1844-1874, a Bibliography. New York: The New York Public Library, 1942. xi + 188 pp., front. (port.) $3.00.

Hawthorne, Hildegarde

California's Missions, Their Romance and Beauty. Illustrated by E. H. Suydam. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. viii + 237 pp. $5.00.

Howay, F. W.

International Aspects of the Maritime Fur-Trade, from *The Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada. Third Series, Vol. XXXVI, 1942.

Phillips, Catherine Coffin

Coulterville Chronicle, the Annals of a Mother Lode Mining Town. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1942. x + 275 pp., illus. $5.00.

Shutes, Milton H.

Lincoln and California. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1943. xiii + 269 pp., illus. $3.00.

U. S. Work Projects Administration

Provo, Pioneer Mormon City . . . Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1942. 223 pp., illus. $2.00.

Contains numerous references to Mormon emigration to California.

Wilson, Nichols Field

California Business Roll of Honor . . . [Buena Park, California]: Ghost Town News, 1943. 160 pp. 50c.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

California Library Association Bulletin

Vol. IV, No. 1 (September 1942) contains: "Californiana, a Basic Reference Collection," by Caroline Wenzel.

Ghost Town News

Vol. II, No. 9 (February 1943) contains: "Grass Valley and Its Traditions," by Edmund G. Kinyon.

The Journal of the California State Dental Association

This Journal, of which Dr. Loren B. Taber is editor, for some time past has been publishing articles on early California dentists. Vol. XIX, No. 1 (January-February 1943) contains: "Dr. Rector Elisha Cole," by Ronald Bailey and A. F. Merriman, Jr. No. 2 (March-April 1943) contains: "A Brief Biography of Dr. Samuel W. Dennis," by Edward Avakoff. No. 3 (May-June 1943) contains: "Dr. William John Younger."

New Mexico Historical Review

Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (January 1943) contains: "The Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-1848," by John Adam Hussey.

Numismatic Review

Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1943) contains "Unpublished California Goldbars of Hentsch & Berton," by Joseph B. Stack. The magazine will be published quarterly, in New York, by Joseph B. and Morton M. Stack.

The Pacific Historical Review

Vol. XI, No. 4 (December 1942) contains: "The Place of Transportation in the Early History of the Pacific Northwest," by Oscar Osburn Winther.

Pacific Northwest Quarterly

Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (April 1943) contains: "Pack Animals for Transportation in the Pacific Northwest," by Oscar Osburn Winther.

Quarterly of Historical Society of Southern California

Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (December 1942) contains: "The Battle of Chino," by George William Beattie, and "Camp Independence, An Owens Valley Outpost," by Helen S. Giffen, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1943) contains: "Pioneer Merchants of Los Angeles, Part II," by Marco R. Newmark.

Yosemite Nature Notes

Vol. XXII, No. 6 (June 1943) contains: "Development of Transportation to Yosemite," Part I, by C. Frank Brockman.

News of the Society

Meetings

"Irish Leaders in Early California" was the topic of an address by Judge Thomas F. Prendergast at the March meeting of the California Historical Society—held on Tuesday, March 14, in the Comstock Room, Palace Hotel, San Francisco, with sixty members in attendance.

Judge Prendergast, who is the author of the recent book, *Forgotten Pioneers,* traced the influence and activity of Irishmen in California affairs, from the years of the Spanish regime down to recent times. Many prominent Irish families which settled early in San Francisco, the Santa Clara Valley, and Santa Barbara were noticed particularly, with reference to individuals who were outstanding in the pioneer days of California.

"The Adobe Houses of California" was the subject of the address by Mrs. Helen S. Giffen at the luncheon meeting on Tuesday, April 27, in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel. Mrs. Giffen, a member of the Society and an authority on early California houses, graciously substituted for Hildegarde Hawthorne, the scheduled speaker, who was unable to be present because of illness. Mrs. Giffen limited her subject to some of the more outstanding adobes in San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Shasta, Tehama, and Monterey counties, giving colorful anecdotes relating to their careers as well as valuable historical data. After the meeting she displayed many photographs of the adobes described and answered questions regarding them. Fifty-two members and guests were present at the meeting.

Dr. Milton H. Shutes spoke on "Lincoln's California Contacts" before the meeting of the California Historical Society on Tuesday, May 18. Author of the recent book, *Lincoln and California,* Dr. Shutes presented some of the outstanding results of his research, in a most interesting manner. Much of the material was new, or little known. Special attention was devoted to four of Lincoln's commanders in the Union Army—Generals Frémont, Halleck, Hooker and Sherman—who had close association with California in years before the Civil War.

The meeting, at which forty-four members and guests were present, was held in the Comstock Room, Palace Hotel, San Francisco.

A CORRECTION

The date of the Annual Meeting was erroneously given in the March issue of this QUARTERLY as January 29, whereas the meeting was actually held on January 22.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1942

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar & Heimbucher. Their complete report for the year 1942 is on file, and a summary of the receipts and disbursements of the General Fund and of the Publication Fund is printed below:

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

Receipts		
Dues:		
Active Members	$5,465.00	
Patron Members	1,275.00	
Sustaining Members	750.00	$7,490.00
Contributions:		
General Purposes	$ 645.00	
Special Purposes	10.00	655.00
Sales:		
Quarterlies	$ 125.00	
Duplicate Books	200.00	325.00
Total Receipts		$8,470.00
Expenditures		
Operating Expenses:		
Salaries	$3,605.50	
Rent	1,800.00	
Telephone	77.95	
Postage and Express	133.06	
Office Expenses	181.70	
Printing	87.37	
Insurance	358.73	
Miscellaneous	25.77	$6,270.08
Luncheon Expense		206.27
Quarterly Publication Costs		2,677.09
Total Regular Expenses		$9,153.44
Special Expenses:		
Equipment Expense	$ 104.00	
Purchases from Donated Funds		104.00
Total Expenditures		$9,257.44
Excess of Receipts over Expenditures		*787.44*†
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		332.26
Fund Balance at End of Year		*$ 455.18*†

†Figures in italics indicate negative amounts.

PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

Sales of Publications			$ 223.11
Cost of Sales:			
Inventory at Beginning of Year		$1,942.70	
Additions to Inventory	276.10		
Less Contribution toward Expense of Publication	90.00	186.10	
		$2,128.80	
Inventory at End of Year		1,989.10	139.70
Gross Profit from Sales			83.41
Selling Expenses (Circulars, etc.)			78.32
Net Gain from Sales			5.09
Interest on Savings Account			23.58
Net Gain to Fund			28.67
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year			3,629.07
Fund Balance at End of Year			$3,657.74

BALANCE SHEET

AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1942

		December 31, 1942
ASSETS		
Cash – Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company		
Commercial Account	$ 276.85	
Savings Account	1,791.72	
Office Cash Fund	10.00	2,078.57
Accounts Receivable		
General Fund	8.24	
Publication Fund	14.51	22.75
Inventory of Publications		1,989.10
Total Assets*		$4,090.42
LIABILITIES		
State Sales Tax Payable	$ 2.86	
Prepaid Dues	885.00	887.86
FUNDS		
General Fund	*455.18*†	
Publication Fund	3,657.74	3,202.56
		$4,090.42

Due to the exigencies of the year that has closed we had to draw heavily upon advance dues, of which an unusually large amount had been received before the end of the year. We are making every effort to increase the membership so as to make up for the drain upon our resources, and we hope that the members will keep this in mind.

Respectfully submitted,
GEORGE D. LYMAN, *Treasurer* (1942)

*Library, Collections, Furniture, and Equipment are not valued on the books.
†Figures in italics indicate negative amounts.

New Members

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Bliss, Miss Hope	San Francisco	Dr. George D. Lyman

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Barnett, Mrs. John T.	San Francisco	Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
Barney, Major Royce	Oakland	Dr. Morton R. Gibbons
Bridges, Francis W.	Hayward	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Burpee, Isaac	Portland, Ore.	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Denman, Frank H.	Petaluma	Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
Geary, Joseph J.	San Francisco	Dr. George D. Lyman
Green, Robert Miller	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Guthrie, Hon C. L.	Porterville	Mr. Paul Parker
Hawthorne, Miss Hildegarde	Berkeley	Dr. George D. Lyman
Lilly, Lewis	San Francisco	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Mansfield, Walter E.	Berkeley	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Martin, Dr. George C.	Washington, D. C.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
O'Neill, Eugene	Danville	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Pattiani, Mrs. William L.	Oakland	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Pool, Charles Henry, Jr.	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Robinson, A. Porter	Burlingame	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
San Mateo County Historical Association	San Mateo	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
*Shaw, J. P.	Oakland	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Sperry, R. A.	Encino	Mr. A. L. Weil
Stuart, R. R.	San Leandro	Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Sweet, Joe G.	San Francisco	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Huntington Library
University of the State of New York	Albany, N. Y.	Mr. Edward Eberstadt
Whipple, Mrs. James R.	Niles	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Wier, Miss Jeanne Elizabeth	Reno, Nev.	Dr. George D. Lyman
Zellerbach, Harold L.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins

Reclassification of Membership

From Active to Sustaining: Mrs. Samuel Knight

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*Former member, reinstated.

In Memoriam

JOHN D. GALLOWAY

1869-1943

Major John Debo Galloway, one of America's outstanding civil engineers, passed away in Berkeley, California, on March 10.

He was born in San Jose, California, on March 13, 1869, the son of James and Emily Hoover Galloway. Shortly after his birth the family removed to Virginia City, Nevada. This was in the midst of exciting times on the Comstock Lode. After his mother's death eight years later, he returned to California. From an early age, left largely to his own resources, he developed the self-reliance which was a marked characteristic.

Graduated from the Rose Polytechnic Institute in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1889, he soon thereafter made his headquarters in San Francisco, though his engineering work often took him far afield. In the next fifty years he had a part in most of the major engineering projects of northern California, including such projects as the San Mateo Bridge, Shasta Dam, Coyote Dam, and the Stanislaus, Las Plumas and Moccasin hydro-electric plants.

He was a pioneer in the design of earthquake-proof structures, as well as in the field of hydroelectric plant construction. Irrigation development, water supply works, bridges, and dams were among the projects in which he specialized.

Following the San Francisco fire and earthquake of 1906, his firm designed and supervised the construction of many of the new city's important structures, and he revised the San Francisco building code.

From 1906 to 1908 he was associated with John Galen Howard in the architectural and engineering firm of Howard and Galloway, and from 1909 to 1917 he was a member of the engineering firm of Galloway and Markwart.

In the first World War, he was chairman of an organization of seven hundred engineers for the study of war work. He was commissioned major of engineers in the United States Army, in G-2 section of the general staff at the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Force, Chaumont, France, receiving for this service a citation from General Pershing. He remained in the Army till January 1919.

On his return to San Francisco, the partnership with A. H. Markwart was revived and existed until the end of 1920. From then on Major Galloway maintained a consulting practice in San Francisco. He was on the first commission for the location of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

A resident of Berkeley for many years, Major Galloway was prominent in civic affairs. Up to the time of his last illness, he was serving as Berkeley's transportation administrator.

Major Galloway wrote extensively for technical publications, especially for the American Society of Civil Engineers. He was signally honored by that Society in 1940, when he was made an honorary member and also was awarded the Thomas Fitch Rowland prize for his paper on "The Design of Rock-Fill Dams."

He served for some years as president of the Board of Directors of the California School of Mechanical Arts, and he was a member of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, the Society of Military Engineers, and the Seismological Society of America.

Much interested in the early history of the West and its railroads, he was a member of the California Historical Society, serving as a director at the time of his death. He was a charter and life member of the Commonwealth Club; an honorary member of the Bohemian Club and a long-time member of the Hillside Club of Berkeley.

Major Galloway is survived by two daughters, Mrs. E. Ronald Foster of Berkeley and Mrs. Alice Wilder of Oakland; three grandchildren, John Douglass Foster and the Misses Margaret Ellen and Rosemary Foster, also of Berkeley. He also leaves a brother, Mason Galloway of Cupertino. Mrs. Galloway had passed away about 18 months before his death.

The national publication of the American Society of Civil Engineers said editorially, in referring to Major Galloway: "No civil engineer on the Pacific Coast has enjoyed a more secure place in the esteem and affection of his fellows."

Aubrey Drury

Gifts Received by the Society

March 1, 1943, to May 15, 1943

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES–Alden, Roland H., and Ifft, John D., *Early Naturalists in the Far West* (Occasional Papers, No. XX), San Francisco: California Academy of Sciences, 1943.

From CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – California State Chamber of Commerce, Research Department, *Economic Survey of California and Its Counties–1942*, reprinted from *California Blue Book–1942* [Sacramento, 1942].

From CALIFORNIA STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION – California State Historical Association, comp., *A Partial List of Organizations in California Interested in California History*, 2d ed., Los Angeles: California State Historical Association [1942].

From MISS LILIAN A. CROSS–Cross, Lilian A., *Appreciation . . . John Francis Cross . . . Sarah Jane Cross*, Oakland, 1933; *idem*, *Sylvan Recollections, a History of the Sylvan District, Sacramento County, California*, 1943.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY–Olmstead, Frederick Law, *Report of State Park Survey of California*, Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1929.

From MRS. MILTON H. ESBERG–Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-4 (August 1909-March 1910); *Portolá Festival*, Official Souvenir Program, 1909; San Francisco, *Municipal Reports*, *Supplement*, 1908-9.

From MR. FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR–Driggs, Howard R., *Westward America,* New York: American Pioneer Trails Association, 1942; Farquhar, Francis P., *A Brief Chronology of Discovery in the Pacific Ocean from Balboa to Capt. Cook's First Voyage, 1503-1770,* San Francisco: [priv. prtd.], 1943; *idem, The Famous Chinese Navigator Hee-Li,* reprtd. from *The American Neptune,* Vol. III, No. 1, 1943.

From MR. F. N. FLETCHER–Nevada State Historical Society, *Biennial Reports,* 1907-12, Carson City, Nevada, 1909-13; *idem., Papers,* 1913-26, Carson City, Nevada, 1917-26.

From MRS. HELEN S. GIFFEN–Giffen, Guy J., *California Gold,* n.d.; Giffen, Helen S., and Woodward, Arthur, *The Story of El Tejon,* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1942.

From GHOST TOWN NEWS–Wilson, Nichols Field, *California Business Roll of Honor* . . . [Buena Park, California]: Ghost Town News, 1943.

From INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SAN FRANCISCO–[Haviland, Florence E.], *Lives Make America's Destiny* . . . [1942], 2 vols.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.–Devens, R. M., *Our First Century* . . . Springfield, Mass., 1882; Hamill, John, *The Strange Career of Mr. Hoover Under Two Flags,* New York: William Faro, Inc., 1931.

From NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION–*Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* Vol. XIII, Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1943.

From MR. NAT SCHMULOWITZ–Schmulowitz, Nat, *The Nazi Joke Courts,* San Francisco: priv. prtd., 1943.

From MR. EMORY E. SMITH–Midwinter International Exposition, *The Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition* . . . San Francisco, 1894.

From STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI–Shoemaker, Floyd C., ed., *Missouri Day by Day, Vol. I* [Columbia, Mo.]: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942.

From MR. ARCHIBALD TREAT–*The White House Gallery of Official Portraits of the Presidents,* New York and Washington: Gravure Company of America, 1908.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–Jerrett, Herman Daniel, *California's El Dorado Yesterday and Today,* Sacramento, 1915; Morse, Salmi, *The Passion: A Miracle Play in Ten Acts,* San Francisco, 1879; Shay, John C., *Twenty Years in the Backwoods of California,* Boston: The Roxburgh Publishing Co., Inc. [1923].

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS–DeVoto, Bernard, *The Year of Decision, 1846,* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943.

From MRS. WILLIAM A. WOOD – Wood, Ellen Lamont, *George Yount, the Kindly Host of Caymus Rancho,* San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1941.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–Baillie-Grohman, William A., *Camps in the Rockies* . . . London, 1882; *San Francisco Illustrated* . . . , Oakland, Calif., n.d.; *The Golden Butterfly, a Novel,* New York, n.d., and others.

CERTIFICATES AND MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS FRANCES M. MOLERA–Certificates and diploma issued to Eusebius J. Molera by: Mercantile Library Association, January 27, 1893; California Academy of Sciences, May 19, 1873; American Society of Civil Engineers, October 6, 1904.

From MR. WILLIAM D. PAGE–Letter written by Charles Darwin August 25, 1877, acknowledging his membership in the "State Geological Society."

MAGAZINES

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING–The Garden Club of America *Bulletin,* No. 6, 8th series (December 1942), containing his article on "A Professional Man's Experience in Growing Wild Flowers."

From MR. JOSEPH EWAN—The Colorado Mountain Club, *Trail and Timberline,* No. 282 (June 1942).

From DR. LOREN B. TABER—California State Dental Association *Bulletin,* Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, 4-8 (May-Dec. 1916), Vol. II, Nos. 1, 3-5 (Jan. 1917-May 1917); *idem., Journal,* Vol. II, No. 6, Vol. V, No. 6 (June 1917-Aug. 1920), Vol. VI, Nos. 1-4 (May 1930- Dec. 1930), Vol. VII, No. 1. Vol. XIX, No. 26 (Feb. 1931-April 1943).

MAPS AND PICTURES

From MR. W. C. ARBUCKLE—10 block prints of San Jose and vicinity.

From MRS. GEORGE CLOUGH—17 photographs of former residents of Forest Hill, Iowa Hill, and other California localities.

From MR. LOWELL E. HARDY—"Scenes on the Pacific Coast," *Illustrated Wasp Supplement,* December 25, 1880.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Group photograph of members of the Cordelia Shooting Club, "California's First Duck Club" (framed).

From MR. GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN—4 lithographs from drawings by Bayard Taylor: "Mazatlan," "Sacramento City, from the South," "San Francisco in November 1849," "Portsmouth Square, San Francisco"; 1 lithograph published by Henry Bill, "San Francisco 1852"; 1 illustration, "San Francisco in 1848," from Sir S. M. Petto, *Resources & Prospects of America.*

From MR. EMORY E. SMITH—Album of mounted photographs, souvenir of the California Midwinter International Exposition.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Painting, "Yosemite Valley" by unknown artist (framed).

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. HARRIS S. ALLEN—Many newspaper clippings on California historical subjects.

From MR. FREDERICK J. BOWLEN—Grocery store account book.

From COMMUNITY MUSIC SCHOOL—Program and menu, citizens' banquet in honor of President Theodore Roosevelt, San Francisco, May 12, 1903.

From MRS. MARGARET COOK—Miscellaneous newspaper clippings.

From MISS KAY LAWLOR—"Marin Tales," by Kay Lawlor, clippings from the San Anselmo *Herald,* 1942-43.

From MRS. CLARENCE LOVERIDGE — Address by Colonel Orlando Hurley Moore, July 4, 1863 (typed copy).

From MISS FRANCES M. MOLERA—Invitation to the laying of the cornerstone for the California Academy of Sciences, July 12, 1889.

From MISS SUSAN MULLALY—Control levers used by the late General Thornwell Mullaly in piloting the streetcar which ended the long traffic deadlock caused by the strike of 1907.

From SAN MATEO COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—Various issues of *La Peninsula,* mimeographed publication of San Mateo County Historical Association.

From MRS. GERTRUDE A. STEGER—Report of Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, June 2, 1859, on Fort Crook (copied from the National Archives, Records of the War Dept., Office of the Adjutant General); Reminiscences of Lotta Crabtree in Yreka, written by G. H. Conner, Dec. 7, 1942 (MS).

Marginalia

Three deaths have occurred in recent months, of persons who were not members of our Society yet whose passing leaves a gap in the field of western historians: Thompson Coit Elliott, of Walla Walla, Washington, a director of both the Oregon and Washington Historical Societies and author of many articles and brochures on the history of the Northwest, died on May 5. Miss Mary Eudora Garoutte, head of the California History section of the California State Library from its organization in 1903 until her retirement thirty years later, died on January 8. Due to Miss Garoutte's sagacity the Californiana collection at the State Library was started and increased, and it was she who started the card index of newspaper files which is invaluable to writers who visit the library. She was always ready and eager to help embryo authors who were delving into the history of California, in which she was a recognized authority. Terry E. Stephenson, past president of the Orange County Historical Society and of the Bowers Museum at Santa Ana, and author of books and articles on Orange County history, died on May 7. He was a graduate of Stanford, a former newspaper editor, and had been treasurer of Orange County since 1935.

Two of our members take over their new duties as university presidents in September: Dr. Lynn T. White will be president of Mills College, and Dr. Donald B. Tresidder, president of Stanford University. William P. Fuller, Jr., another of our members, succeeds Dr. Tresidder as president of the board of trustees of the University, and Judge M. C. Sloss and Charles R. Blyth are also officers.

Sponsor of the Liberty ship *Fremont Older*, launched at Richmond Shipyard No. 2 on June 17, was Fremont Older's widow, Cora, a member of our Society. Another member, John Francis Neylan, noted San Francisco attorney, was one of the speakers.

Dolores Waldorf (Mrs. H. C. Bryant), author of the article, "Gentleman from Vermont," will be remembered for her "Charles P. Kimball, San Francisco's 'Noisy Carrier' " in our *Quarterly* for December 1939. She was formerly assistant editor of the *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers.

Mrs. Alice B. Maloney, a frequent contributor to our *Quarterly*, is working for the Berkeley Defense Council. Her biographical article on John Work, in this issue, will be followed by Work's diary of his trip to California in 1832-33 with a Hudson's Bay Company brigade.

Lieutenant Commander Harold F. Taggart, a member of our editorial staff and editor of "The Journal of David Jackson Staples" printed in this issue, until recently has been professor of history and dean of men at San Mateo Junior College. He is now commanding officer of Navy V-12 Unit, at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. He was born in Indiana, graduated from Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, in 1916; received the degree of M.A. from the University of California in 1917, and Ph.D. from Stanford in 1936. Readers of the *Quarterly* will remember him for his article on "The Senatorial Election of 1893 in California" in the March 1940 issue.

Ensign Warren R. Howell, U.S.N.R., former secretary of the Society and member of our editorial staff, writes that his address is now c/o U.S.S. *Essex*, c/o Fleet P. O., San Francisco.

The Society continues to elect new members. Some of them we mention below:

Miss Hope Bliss is the daughter of Duane L. Bliss, California pioneer of 1851, who was well known throughout Nevada and California, particularly in the Lake Tahoe region. Under his good management the Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Company furnished millions of feet of timber a month to the Comstock mines and thousands of cords of fuel for their Cornish pumps, yet he was careful to leave sufficient trees to preserve the beauty of the scenery for generations to come. It was Mr. Bliss who put in the first railroad from Truckee to Lake Tahoe, and at its terminal he built the Tahoe

Tavern, its casinos and railroad office. He was instrumental in preserving the lake as a beautiful recreation spot when a proposed canal for irrigation and power purposes threatened to lower the shoreline and expose unsightly mud banks.

Francis W. Bridges is a graduate of the University of California and of the Harvard Business School. His maternal grandfather, John Wilson, came to San Francisco in 1854 from Nova Scotia and New Zealand, went north to British Columbia after the discovery of gold there, then around the world to New Zealand, and back to California in 1870. His paternal grandfather came to the Bay region from Massachusetts in the early 1870's and was one of the engineering party that led the construction of the Southern Pacific over the Siskiyou Mountains.

C. L. Guthrie is a member of the California State Assembly from Tulare County, a director of the Farm Credit Administration, and an authority on stock horses, judging them at horse shows and county fairs. His grandfather, Washington Guthrie, came from Kentucky in 1848, bringing with him thoroughbred horses. The family moved to Tulare County in 1872 and raised horses and cattle on their ranch near Porterville. Guthrie horses figured in quarter-horse races all over the Western states and one even went to England as a polo horse.

Hildegarde Hawthorne* (Mrs. John Milton Oskison), well-known author of many books, poems, and stories, is the daughter of Julian and granddaughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Dr. George Curtis Martin* has held various positions in geological and paleontological fields with the U. S. Geological Survey, Maryland Geological Survey, Johns Hopkins University, and in Alaska and Mexico. More recently he has been with the United States Board on Geographic Names.

Eugene O'Neill* noted playwright, is the son of the actor, James O'Neill, who first came to San Francisco with the Hooley Comedy Company in 1875 and later became famous as "The Count of Monte Cristo" in the play of that name.

Mrs. William L. Pattiani (Evelyn Craig) is the eldest daughter of Hugh Craig who came to San Francisco from Australia in the early 1870's, entered the insurance business, and built one of the early homes in the Piedmont hills, moving into it in 1880. The house is still owned by Mrs. Pattiani. Hugh Craig was largely responsible for the compiling of the present city charter of Piedmont and served as mayor of that city for seven years. Mrs. Pattiani's maternal grandparents, the Samuel Fleming Gilcrests, arrived in Oakland in 1864, having come "across the plains" from Ohio in covered wagons. Mrs. Pattiani is collecting data for a book on the Piedmont district.

A. Porter Robinson is the grandson of Alfred Robinson, author of the famous *Life in California* (New York, 1846), who first came to California in 1829. His other grandfather was Horace Hawes, pioneer of 1847, prominent lawyer and author of the Consolidation Bill which in 1856 united the City and County of San Francisco.

R. A. Sperry, vice president of the General Petroleum Corporation of California, has been in the oil business since 1901, the year after the discovery of oil in Kern County. He comes from the family that started the Sperry Flour Company in the very early days, and is the grandnephew of James L. Sperry who was in the hotel business at Angel's Camp and Murphy's and afterwards built and ran the hotel at Calaveras Big Trees Grove. His mother's family, the Ashes, did not come to California until after the Civil War, but they were related to Dr. Richard P. Ashe who came in 1849.

Miss Jeanne Elizabeth Wier*, founder of the Nevada Historical Society, has been its secretary since its organization in 1904. A graduate of Stanford University, she received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Nevada in 1924, at which institution she has taught history since 1899 and has been the head of the Department of History and Political Science since 1901.

*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura

John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company

Edited by ALICE BAY MALONEY

THE ORIGINAL manuscript of John Work's California expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company is deposited in the Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, Vancouver Island. It is contained in two large notebooks and is carefully written and legible save for a few places made undecipherable by blots of ink. The books are probably copies of roughly kept notes from a smaller volume, since they show no evidence of the rough journey of fifteen months by canoe and horseback, and the handwriting is fairly uniform.

A grandson of John Work, the late Henry Huggins of Marshfield, Oregon, first called the attention of the writer to this diary. He had seen it at his grandmother's house when as a boy he was sent from his home at Fort Nisqually to school in Victoria. Investigation revealed that a transcript of a portion of the journal was in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa. Photostats and permission to publish were generously furnished through Dr. Gustav Lanctot, Deputy Minister and Archivist. The original journals were later traced to Victoria, and through British Columbia Archivist W. Kaye Lamb (now librarian of the University of British Columbia) photostats of the remainder were secured and the transcript of the first part checked.

For assistance and information the writer is indebted to many scholars and institutions, government, state and county officials and to local historians in regions traveled by John Work on his long trail. His Honour, Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, cleared the pathway for generous cooperation accorded by the Canadian Archives, the Archives of British Columbia, The Provincial Library and the Historical Society of British Columbia. Other sources drawn upon for material were the Oregon Historical Society, the Washington Historical Society, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, the California State Library, The Royal Canadian Museum, Toronto, Canada, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, the U. S. Forest Service, the National Park Service, the California State Highway Department, the Shasta County Historical Society, and the Franciscan Fathers of Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Botanical notes were made by Miss Alice Eastwood, curator emeritus of the California Academy of Sciences. Notes on the fauna of California and Oregon are by Professor Tracy M. Storer of the University of California. Anthropological notes are by Dr. Robert F. Heizer.

Space does not permit listing here of all the individuals in numerous localities who aided in tracing trails and identifying landmarks. A debt of gratitude to all who assisted is hereby acknowledged. The task of following a trail over a century old was lightened by this generous and enthusiastic aid.

As much of John Work's trail as could be traced practicably by car and foot has been gone over during the past four years when preparation of this journal has been under way. Some of the route remains just trail, and for those portions not reached personally numerous authorities have been consulted in a desire to trace his pathway through what was, in 1832-33, desert and wilderness. Today many sections of Work's route remain more or less in the same condition in which he found them. Good roads make transit of his dangerous, waterless journeys across the sagebrush desert between Malheur and Goose lakes in Oregon a matter of a few hours by automobile. The pass which Work crossed through the Cascade Range of mountains north of Lassen Peak, judging from all available traditions and records, is the first pass used by white men in their penetration of California from the north. Miss Dorothy Huggins, corresponding secretary of the California Historical Society, and the writer drove over the forest road covering this portion of Work's route on August 28, 1942, just one hundred and nine years to the day after Work made his way over the heights on his homeward journey to Fort Vancouver. The road does not follow the exact Indian trail used by the Hudson's Bay Company trappers; nevertheless, we were able to approximate his path and learn something of the difficulties encountered by John Work and his packtrain as they "took the Mountain."

The Bonaventura was for many years a stream of uncertain origin and mythical course. Father Escalante heard of it in 1776 and mentioned it by name. Old maps show it draining Great Salt Lake and flowing directly into the Pacific Ocean. In this journal of John Work its limits are known and its course is clear: "The Bonaventura is the Sacramento." As such, it was well known to the hunters and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the heat of an August day, Chief Trader John Work and his party of one hundred men, women and children embarked in boats for the first stage of their long expedition to the Bonaventura; a journey that was to take its toll in sickness and death, a journey fraught with perils and burdened by rivalry and disappointments. Nevertheless the record of its day by day progress is a document of historical value, and its revelations throw light on an obscure period of Western history.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK

Augt. 1832, Friday 17 Warm sultry weather. Left Vancouver[1] a little before noon and joined the Snake Trappers, (who were sent to a little above the fort yesterday evening to take their regale,) we embarked in three boats & proceeded up the river to a little above the saw mill where we put ashore for the night. The party this year is to consist of 26 men.[2] Our instructions are to proceed to the Old Lake [Snake?] country[3] or the Bonaventura valley[4] which ever may be deemed most advantageous. Our present plan is, if the season does not be too far advanced, to go by Ogden's River[5] where a few beaver may be caught before the river freezes over and then go on to the Bonaventura by the S. branch[6], but if it be too late in the season we will have to push on direct to the Bonaventura by Pit river[7] or the N. branch. Either way our prospects of making anything of a hunt are but very indifferent.

Saturday 18 Rained part of the day. Proceeded on our journey up the river with the paddles, there being no wind, to below the first rapids of the Cascades.[8]

Sunday 19 Fine weather.[9] Continued our route at an early hour, got across the portage at the Cascades a little past noon, lost some time guming the boats, and then proceeded up the river with the paddles, there being very little wind and that little ahead.

Monday 20 . . . Proceeded up the river with the paddles, the wind being still unfavourable, and encamped some distance below the Dalls.

Tuesday 21 . . . Continued our journey at an early hour and by the evening had the boats & cargoes across the Dalls portage and encamped at the upper end of it. This was a hard days work on the people. There are a great many Indians here at present, some few of them have the ague. Our sick men are recovering very slowly.

Wednesday, 22 . . . Proceeded on our journey a little before sunrising and got across the portage at the Chutes before noon when we proceeded up the river with the paddles, the wind being still unfavourable, and encamped in the evening some distance below Day's River.[10] The Indians at the Dalls & Chutes inform us that our man Soteaux whom we lost on the 8th July was murdered by two Mountain Snakes who lay in wait for him as he passed a thicket and shot him with arrows but little reliance can be placed on the account.

Thursday 23 . . . Continued our route up the river with a fine sail wind and made a good day's journey.

Friday 24 . . . The sail wind continued and wafted us up the river to below Utalla river.[11] C. Groslui's boy taken ill with the fever. The men who were ill recovering very slowly.

Saturday 25 Sultry warm weather. Hired a horse from the Indians and came ahead of the boats to Fort Nezperces.[12]

Sunday 26 . . . The boats reached the fort early in the morning. The people employed during the day taking their property to the camp a little distance off at the little river.

Monday 27 . . . The men employed themselves with their families.

Tuesday 28 Showery during the day. Had everything arranged to deliver the provisions to the people. Several of the men & some boys taken ill. Some with the fever & some with a cold which is very prevalent about the place and seems to be infectious.

Wednesday 29 Fine warm weather. Employed the most of the day delivering the people their provisions. Several of the people continued ill. A. Longtain had recovered a little but has again relapsed, C. Groslui's boy has also got worse. Three were attacked with the fever during last night and today L. Boisvant, T. Tevatcon, Bte. Gardipie, J. Dorland's boy, & L. Rondeau's little girl, a child.

Thursday 30 . . . Delivered the people hand axes, leather lodges, &c. The sick still continue ill, notwithstanding the application of medicine. In addition to the fever a severe cold prevails among the people.

Friday 31 . . . Delivered the people the remainder of their assets, &c. The sick men continue ill, two men, are taken ill a boy N. Finlay and L. Rondeau's wife.

Sept. 1832, Saturday 1 . . . Delivered the people their horses. The boy N. Finlay nearly bled to death at the nose and mouth. Another of the men C. Rondeau taken ill with the fever. J. Toupin who had recovered a little relapsed & is very ill. Two of our horses strayed & have not been found.

Sunday 2 Sultry warm weather. Some of the sick getting a little better, but two more men L. Quintall, J. S. LaRocque & C. Plant's wife are taken ill. So many of the people being thus taken with the fever, is of serious consequence. Last year not a man of the party, tho' we were here about this time, took it after we arrived here except an Indian boy, and the most of those who were ill recovered during our stay here, this year it is different, the people are taken ill daily since our arrival here, this is a thing I by no means expected, and might have had the people off two or three days ago but delayed purposely expecting that those who were worst would get better and be more able for the voyage. There are now ten men and some women & boys ill with it less or more. Though I was well supplied with medicines at Vancouver, (but) there is such a heavy demand upon it that it will soon be all done at this rate.

Monday 3 . . . The people moved camp to below the rock[13] where they will have a little better feeding for the horses. Some of the people still very ill, exposed to the weather as they are here and not being able to remain quiet, the medicine operates with less effect than it would otherwise do, and even when the patients do get a little better they very frequently relapse again but we cant help it.

Tuesday 4 . . . cool but stormy. Some of the men being sick the people did not raise camp. I was employed writing letters.

Wednesday 5 . . . The people moved a little further down the river. Finished writing letters. My favourite horse which I kept here to follow the people with, was sent out with an Indian to feed, the fellow left him & his cord got entangled about a bush & he fell in the river & was drowned.

Thursday 6 Sultry warm weather. Left the Fort & came up with the people at Utalla [Umatilla] river, found one of the men J. Favel on the way he had remained behind the others he was so ill with the fever, I brought him up with me. Three others of the men C. Rondeau, F. Champaigne and J. S. LaRocque are very ill with it indeed, there was another new case a boy L. Lavalle was taken ill on the way, the others are recovering a little. F. Payette[14] who has been some time ill was unable to accompany me and I was reluctantly obliged to leave him behind. This I much regret as in the event of anything happening to me he was the only person to take charge of the party.

Friday 7 Fine warm weather. Did not raise camp on account of the sick men. Three of them were too ill to move. We are badly situated for patients in their condition their being obliged to move & being exposed to the sun destroys the effect of the medicine, and even when they have recovered a little occasions a relapse. I had a good supply of medicines from Vancouver but such a continual & heavy demand wastes it so rapidly that we will soon have none.

Saturday 8 Stormy yet warm weather. Did not raise camp so that the sick men might have a little repose. Rondeau, Champaigne and J. Favel are a good deal better these three days past. But C. Plante has fallen ill. The Bindach[15] gave the men permission to kill two marons[16] which he says belong to some of his relatives.

Sunday 9 Stormy cool weather. Raised camp & proceeded S.S.W. 4 hours 13 miles to a small creek.[17] The sick are a good deal better but still very weak, the cool weather today was favourable for them. In the evening an Indian arrived from the fort [Nez Perce] with letters from Colvile[18] & one from Mr. Pambrum,[19] a boy that was left sick at the fort came with the Indian. F. Payette who was also left sick at the fort had recovered a little of the disease he was labouring under, but had a slight fit of the intermittent fever the next day.

Monday 10 Fine warm weather. Five of the horses were astray in the morning and could not be found till near noon when we moved 5 Miles 1½ hours S.S.E. farther on and encamped. We would not have found water within reach to go farther on. One of the men Rocquebin refused to go and seek after the stray horses tho' three of them were his own. I was obliged to knock him down & give him a beating.

Tuesday 11 Fine warm weather. Raised camp & proceeded 4 hours 13 miles S.S.W. to another small creek.[20] C. Plante was taken ill with the fever yesterday. The rest of the sick men recovering slowly.

Wednesday 12 Sultry warm weather. Continued our route 4 hours 12 miles S.S.W. to another small fork.[21] C. Plante a little better, but one of the women L. Rondeau's wife has relapsed. In the evening a Caiouse [Cayuse] Indian, the Young Chiefs brother came up with us accompanied by another Indian, he is just arrived from the plains, he informs us of two great battles fought with the Blackfeet by the Nezperces & F. Heads and again by these joined by the Americans. The first battle was fought on Salmon river a few days after we left it in the spring, the Blackfeet were very strong, they fought two days & carried off the half of the N. P. & F. H. horses.[22] It was lucky for us that we were off had they come upon us when above the Indian camp we would have most probably lost all our horses & likely the most of ourselves.

Thursday 13 . . . Four horses were missing & were not found till near noon when we raised camp and proceeded up the creek to a small plain in the mountains 4 hours 12 miles S.S.E.[23]

Friday 14 . . . Continued our route across the mountains 4 hours 12 miles S.S.E. to a small creek where we encamped among woods.[24] I intended to have pushed on and got out of the woods, but one of the men J. Toupin had a relapse of the fever and nearly died of thirst on the road, no water to be found near. This man had recovered, but has been ahead and imprudently went in the water which has caused him to fall ill again. Toupin & Pichette who was with him fell in with some Caiouse Indians on Dog's [Day's?] river,[25] from whom they learned that Soteaux was killed by three Snake Indians who laid wait for him as he was passing a rock, laid hold of him & stabbed him with a knife before he had time to fire upon them.

Saturday 15 Sharp frost in the morning fine weather afterwards. Continued our journey 3½ hours 12 miles S.S.E. to the North branch of Day's river. The two men who were ahead took 7 beaver & 1 otter.[26]

Sunday 16 Raw cold weather for the season. Continued our journey 4½ hours 16 miles S.S.E. along the mountains to the head of a small creek, the road very hilly and rugged. We are induced to take this road to avoid the stony road to go round by the forks and certainly this road is not preferable to the other, though a little shorter. A. Longtain and L. Rondeau's wife are again attacked with the fever, tho' they had both recovered of it. Toupin & P. Gilbeau are also very ill with it.

Monday 17 Snowed in the night, squally cold weather with hail & snow showers and very cold during the day. Continued our journey 4 hours 15 miles S.S.E. on a rugged steep mountain[27] & encamped in a deep ravine where we found barely enough of water for the horses. This was a fatiguing day both on horses & people. The sick men continue ill. Another, T. Tevatcon who had recovered has also relapsed.

Tuesday 18 Sharp frost in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Proceeded on our journey 2½ hours 10 miles S.S.E. to the S. fork of Day's river where we encamped near a party of Kaiouse [Cayuse] & Walla walla Indians. The men out setting the traps. The sick men recovering very slowly.

Wednesday 19 . . . Did not raise camp in order to allow a little repose to the sick men. Our horses are also in need of a day's repose and to feed. The traps which were set yesterday produced ten beaver & one otter. Some more of the people were out setting traps. The Indians visited us, a little fresh meat was obtained from them. The people traded six horses from them & exchanged several. One of the men J. S. LaRocque caught one of his horses, the cord became entangled about his arms, & the animal ran of and dragged him a considerable distance among his feet, the poor man is very much bruised about his head and arms, it is a wonder he was not killed.

Thursday 20 Frost in the night fine weather afterwards. Raised camp & proceeded 4 hours 15 miles S.E. up the river. The men out with their traps 13 beaver taken. Some of the Indians visited us in the evening.

Friday 21 . . . Continued our journey 4 hours 15 miles S.E. up the river to where we have to leave the river and strike across the mountains to the S.E. Commenced night watch last night as we are now coming among the mountain Snakes who are notorious thieves and would no doubt steal our horses should they find a chance. It was three individuals, a father & two sons, of these people on the east side of the mountains on the head of burnt river who murdered our man Soteaux in July last, and it being deemed absolutely necessary to punish the murderers if possible but at the same time not just to punish the innocent for the guilty, it is arranged that should any article belonging to the deceased be recognized the Indians in whose possession it may be are to be punished instantly. These villains live in detached families & seldom assemble except during the salmon season when a few of them sometimes collect together to make fishing wears [weirs]. Did we even know the family who committed the murder we might almost as well go after elk or deer as pursue them into the mountains. The people out with their traps, 9 beaver taken.

Saturday 22 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The men out with their traps, four beaver taken. One of the men's J. S. LaRocque's wife remained behind in the sulks yesterday, he went back for her & brought her up today.

Sunday 23 Sharp frost, in the night, fine weather afterwards. Raised camp & proceeded across the mountains to the head of Sylvaille's river[28] 5 hours 18 miles S.E. Two of the men L. Quintall and J. Rocquebrin went to take up some traps which they had set up the river in the morning and have not yet arrived, it is supposed they have missed their way in the mountains as they intended to cut across a near road from where their traps were.

Monday 24 Frost and very cold in the night. Fine weather during the day. Proceeded 2½ hours 8 miles S.E. down the river and encamped at a small fork which falls in from the Eastward. All hands went off immediately to collect lodge poles, it was late when they arrived, proper wood is very scarce. Several of the men were out setting traps and some out hunting. T. Tevatcon killed an antelope, & Voriau one yesterday crossing the mountains, Kanota killed a deer[29] the day before J. Favel killed a deer which are the only animals besides beaver which has been killed by any of the party since we left the fort so that we would have been hungry had we been depending on the produce of the chase. The hunters observed the tracks of some Snake Indians in the mountains, supposed to be horse thieves following us seeking a chance to steal. Our two men who remained behind have not yet come up.

Tuesday 25 Cold in the night, fine weather during the day. Did not raise camp in order to allow the people time to make their lodge poles. Our horses are also in need of a little time to feed, the grass is every where so dry that the horses derive little nourishment from it. The two men who remained behind arrived with four beaver. They had to go back to our encampment in order to find the road. Tho' we saw only one family of Snake Indians, yet there were the tracks of plenty of them about our encampment after we left, they were no doubt concealed while we were on the river. Some of the men were out with their traps, 8 beaver taken.

Wednesday 26 Cold in the night, & cold cloudy weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 3¾ hours 11 miles S.E. down the river. The men out with their traps, 6 beaver taken. C. Plante killed an antelope. The tracks of horse thieves seen again.

Thursday 27 Raw cold weather. Continued our route 3 hours 10 miles S.E. down the river, part of the road very stony. The people out with their traps, 6 beaver taken. Some of the hunters were out in the mountains, but without success. Five horse thieves approached the camp last night but did not find an opportunity to steal.

Friday 28 Frost in the night, raw cold weather during the day. Continued our journey down the river 4½ hours 15 miles S.—part of the road very stony. The people out with their traps, 4 beaver taken. One of the men had a trap stolen by the Indians. We saw the track of these people, but cannot get a sight of any of themselves. T. Smith allowed one of his horses to stray off the road at or coming from the last encampment, and did not find him. Smith is a stupid lifeless fellow.

Saturday 29 Fine weather. Did not raise camp, as a good many of the men have their traps well set. Some of the people were out with their traps to the plain of the lake.[30] They saw smoke in different directions, the Indians have kindled fires to spread the news that we are coming. 20 beaver taken. F. Champaigne, N. Finlay a boy & L. Rondeau's wife are again taken ill with the fever, they had recovered and appeared quite well, but went in the water and have relapsed again. Some more of the people with them a few days back also relapsed but are recovering.

Sunday 30 Raw cold weather. Raised camp and cut across a point of rugged stony hills and again fell upon the river in the plain 5½ hours 18 miles S.,[31] 14 beaver & one otter taken, a trap stolen by the Indians, one of the men L. Pichette saw two Snake Indians on horseback, but did not approach them as there were several others afoot at no great distance, though they appeared friendly & invited him across a small river to change horses with them, but as they were armed with bows and axes [arros?] & he only having a boy with him he did not like to trust them. There is smoke to be seen in different directions towards the lake and in the mountains. These are very treacherous barbarous Indians & though few of them are armed with guns, we require to be much on our guard among them. The men are directed to be particularly careful when out hunting & never to go less than two together lest they be surprised.

October 1832, Monday 1 Raw cold weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed as there is good grass here. Our sick people are also ill able to move. F. Champaign is very ill, and L. Rondeau's wife is not expected to live over the night. The people were out with their traps but the marks of beaver are scarce. The river below has been lately overrun by fire. Only 4 beaver and an otter taken.

Tuesday 2 Raw cold weather. Rained during the afternoon. Did not raise camp on account of the sick people. F. Champaign & Rondeau's wife are a little better, but another of the men J. Toupin, was again taken with the fever and had a shaking fit this is the third time this man has relapsed, if ever those who have been ill wet themselves they fall ill again. The people again out with their traps, only two beaver taken. Several of the people out hunting. Peevish killed a small antelope. Some of the people were out yesterday also hunting antelopes but without success. Peevish's gun burst and though he providentially escaped unhurt he was very near losing his arm. Some Snake Indians are lurking about us but will not approach the camp during the day. One of the men T. Tevatcon met two of them but he could not prevail upon them to come to the camp.

Wednesday 3 Cold stormy showery weather. Did not raise camp, partly on account of the sick people and partly on account of the bad weather. The people out with their traps, only one beaver taken.

Thursday 4 Sharp frost in the morning, cold weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 4 hours 13 miles S.E. down the river through a swamp which would probably at any other season have been impassible.

Friday 5 Heavy rain the greater part of the day and very stormy. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp. The people out with their traps, 8 beaver taken.

Saturday 6 Sharp frost in the morning fine weather afterwards. Proceeded 6 miles down the river 2 hours S.E. 12 beaver and an otter taken. Four wretched Snake Indians visited us.

Sunday 7 Stormy cold weather. Raised camp and cut across a point[32] 4 hours 15 miles S.S.W. to a small lake[33] along side of a salt Lake. The salt lake[34] is of considerable extent but destitute of wood. All the way from the station we left this morning is a chain of small swampy lakes, without wood. The hunters passed along them, they found no beaver but killed a good many wild fowl. 11 beaver and an otter were taken in the morning. From our last station I intended to have proceeded S.E. to Ogdens river and searched to the Southward of it for a river which the Indians give some vague account of, but the season is too far advanced and before we could get there even did we find a river the winter would be probably set in & the river frozen so we could not trap it were there beaver. We have been therefore induced to alter the plans and proceed straight to the Bonaventura.

Monday 8 Stormy cold weather. Did not raise camp in order that the people might shoot wildfowl of which there are plenty here. All hands were out and killed a good many. Two of the men who left their traps behind went for them but caught no beaver. An old horse gave up on the way yesterday, today two Snake Indians visited the camp. Four also visited us at our last station & were kindly treated. The most of these people fly at our approach.

Tuesday 9 Fine warm weather. Raised camp and proceeded 3½ hours 12 miles W.S.W. along the North side of Salt Lake to a small camp at the West end of it. The people out shooting wildfowl but with little success.

Wednesday 10 Frost in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Continued our route 3 hours 10 miles W.S.W. to a small spring near a lake which is now dry. Another lake lies behind a point of rocks behind the camp.

Thursday 11 Rather stormy part of the day. Continued our journey at an early hour and after a hard day both on men & horses of 9½ hours march 32 Miles, 18 Miles W.S.W. & 14 miles S.S.W. encamped without water and not much grass for our fatigued thirsty horses. We have this day made two usual days journey, in consequence of not finding water at the first station where the people used to find it when they passed this way twice before but earlier in the season than at present. On proceeding on to this place a small stony ravine, a former encampment, we have the mortification to find the spring dried up. Our situation is rather gloomy, the more so as a number of the men have become quite discouraged and talk of turning back lest themselves & horses die of thirst. They have taken it into their heads that the lake the next usual station is also dried up & that the horses will not be able to go on to the next station where they also doubt whether there is any water at this season. None of them thought of giving me this information before I left our last station. L. Kanota, on whose information I can place most reliance assures me I will find water tomorrow, I am therefore determined to proceed. Some of the people took the precaution to bring some water from our last station. A small hole is dug where some of the people obtain a small quantity of muddy water taken up in spoonfulls. Two horses gave up on the way and were left behind. Two of the men, A. Longtain and J. Toupin who had recovered of the fever relapsed today & were very ill, the long day's journeys with the thirst & dust to which they are exposed is very hard upon them.[35]

Friday 12 Sharp frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Had all hands at work loading the horses by break of day, proceeded on our journey at sunrise and in 5½ hours 18 miles S.S.E. across a hill and along a valley reached a small lake or rather the end of a chain of lakes[36] where we encamped, the water is a little brackish but can be used. I was really glad to find it. We have also good feeding here for the horses. The sick men again shaking with the fever.

Saturday 13 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. Took L. Kanota with me and ascended a ridge of rocky hills of considerable height,[37] to the S.E. of our camp in order to ascertain the appearance of the country on both sides of the hills. The valley where we are encamped & where some of the old hands who have passed here twice were afraid of dying for want of water, is a continuation of lakes close to each other as far as the eyes can reach tho we proceeded a considerable distance to the Southward, and might with propriety be called the valley of lakes, the first below our camp is brackish but in those farther down the water is fresh & good. Beyond the hills there is another extensive valley with a small creek running to the Northward, here we expected to find beaver as it is well wooded towards the hills, but there is none. The Salt lake which we left on the morning of the 10th, is probably close too here & had we proceeded due South our road would have likely been much shorter and likely no want of water. It was long after dark when we reached the camp. There are the tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people. We observed some fresh tracks of sheep[38] on the hills. The lakes and swamps in the valley are well stocked with wild fowl, the people were out hunting & killed several.

Sunday 14 Stormy part of the day. Did not raise camp. Took C. Plante and J. Favel with me and went 25 to 30 miles South down the valley in hopes of finding a river by which the waters of all these lakes were discharged but without success. On passing a rocky ravine which we saw yesterday another valley with a continued chain of lakes & swamps continued as far as the eye could reach in a Southerly direction. It was long after dark when we returned to the camp. Some of the people were out hunting. L. Kanota killed a sheep. One of the men Bte. Gardipie was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning, on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill 7 Indians were concealed behind a large stone among the long grass he did not perceive them until he was close too [them] when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of the road where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with these men.

Monday 15 Stormy weather. Raised camp and proceeded W. 7 miles 2 hours across the valley, to a small lake of good water. It is probable we would find a shorter road by proceeding S. down the valley, but not being sure of the road & little likelihood of any beaver being found we were induced to take the old track which is known & where we are sure to find water.

Tuesday 16 Stormy cold weather. Continued our journey 6½ hours 20 miles W.S.W. to Salt Lake.[39] No water to be found here. This was a most fatiguing day both on men and horses particularly the horses, the greater part of the road was very stony which has rendered several of them lame. We found good water in a small spring at the side of the lake.

Wednesday 17 Rain & snow showers in the night, stormy cold weather during the day. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed and repose after their hard day's work yesterday.

Thursday 18 Stormy with snow and rain in the night, sharp frost in the morning. Raised camp and proceeded round the end of the lake 7 miles W.[40] The people out hunting & killed some hares & few wild fowl, some antelopes were also seen. The station which we left this morning seems to be a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place. There are not many wild fowl about the lake.

Friday 19 Stormy rather cold weather. Continued our journey 5½ hours 19 miles S. along the W. side of the lake to its S. end where we encamped on a small river.[41] Part of the road very stony. Many of the horses are becoming lame. Several of the people were out hunting but without success except a few ducks & geese.

Saturday 20 Sharp frost in the morning. Continued our journey up a small creek[42] to near the foot of a small mountain which we have to cross. The hunters were out again today but without success, though they saw both some Blacktail Deer [43] & grey sheep, but they are very shy. Some of them found some plums[44] of a pretty good sort, the bushes on which they grow are very small. This is the first fruit of this kind I have seen in the Indn. country. C. Rondeau, L. Rondeau, J. LaRocque & J. Rocquebin killed each a horse to eat. These men have been very imprudent & did not husband their provisions with sufficient economy or they would not have had to kill horses yet.

Sunday 21 Weather not so cold as these days past. Continued our route across the mountains and along an extensive valley to a small creek near the North end of pit lake,[45] 5½ hours 19 miles S. We could find no water which obliged us to march so long. The mountain we crossed is not high but part of the road was stony & hard upon the horses' sore feet. There is a hot spring in the valley a little to the one side of the road Some of the young men went to it, the water is so hot that the finger can be barely endured in it a moment. There are a number of human skulls & some other bones in it, but how they came there there is no knowing.[46]

Monday 22 Keen frost in the night. Proceeded on our route 8 miles S. to past the head of the lake and encamped on a small rivulet which issues from the mountains. Passed two more hot springs[47] which emited an offensive sulphurous smell. The people out in pursuit of wildfowl but with little success.

Tuesday 23 Stormy weather. Moved on 6 miles S. along the lake to another small creek. The water in the lake is not salt but it has an unpleasant taste. Several of the people out hunting but without success except Kanota who killed a blacktail deer.

Wednesday 24 Very stormy cold weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the horses to feed and rest a little and that the people might go hunting. Several of the men were out in the mountains but without success. They saw bears, sheep & chivereau but could not come up with them. A few wild fowl were killed. There is another valley with a chain of lakes to the Eastward of the mountains[48]. The people gathered plenty of plums yesterday & today.

Thursday 25 Raw cold weather. The small creek where we passed last night nearly frozen over in the morning. Continued our journey 2½ hours 8 miles S. along the lake to a small [illegible word] fork.[49] The people again out hunting but without success. Three of the women & a boy eat a poisonous kind of Mushroom and were very ill[50], had they not been vomited immediately some of them would probably have died. Plenty of plums gathered today. P. Satakaras killed a horse to eat.

Friday 26 Some rain in the night stormy during the day. Proceeded on our journey 8 miles S. to a small rivulet[51] near the lower end of the lake. The hunters out in the mountains again but without killing anything, though there are the fresh tracks of bear, deer & sheep. A few wildfowl were killed.

Saturday 27 Squally with rain in the night. Stormy during the day. Continued our route 9 miles S. to past the lower end of the lake, to a small creek which may be inferred is the head of Pit river. A good many wildfowl were killed. Bte. Dubruille killed a horse to eat.

Sunday 28 Stormy weather. Continued our route 8 miles S. across a point & fell upon Pit river which with the addition of several small brooks from the mountains is here a handsome stream, pretty broad & wooded with willows. There are the marks of some beaver, the people set a few traps.

Monday 29 Some rain in the morning. Stormy during the day. Continued our journey down the river 9 miles S.S.W. and encamped a little below where a fork of equal size falls in from the Eastward[52]. This fork runs through a swamp which is probably a lake during the season of highwater. Where we are encamped the river is well wooded with willows, there is the appearance of some beaver. Several of the people set their traps, 4 beaver taken this morning.

Tuesday 30 Cloudy raw weather. Did not raise camp. The men out with the traps, 15 beaver taken. Took three men, T. Tevatcon, C. Rondeau & J. Cornoyer with me to examine the fork which falls in from the Eastward, we proceeded about 20 miles up the valley to near its head, it is a swamp all the way two forks fall in from the N.E. but as the mountains are near they are probably not long. These and the river which they form are for a small distance pretty well wooded with willows and apparently adapted for beaver, but we could not get across the swamp to examine them. It is too small to take the camp so far out of the way.

Wednesday 31 Clear cold weather. Did not raise camp. The people visited the traps & took only 5 beaver — 15 were taken yesterday. Went again accompanied by a man L. Kanota, up the valley where I was yesterday on discovery but on the opposite side of it. The river runs through an impassable swamp all the way up the valley, the principal fork falls in at the head of it, it is of considerable size, well wooded & apparently well adapted for beaver but there is no appearance of any ever having been in it nor is there in two other small forks which fall in farther down. There are some tracks of Indians to be seen but they are as wild as the beasts and cannot be seen.

November 1832, Thursday 1 Sharp frost in the night, raw cold weather during the day. This being a holiday with the Canadians did not raise camp[53].

Friday 2 Sharp frost in the night Mild weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded down the river 12 miles S.W. We crossed to the E. side of the river. The men visited their traps but with little success, only 3 beaver and two otters taken. There are tracks of Indians quite fresh, but they fly on our approach and none of them are to be seen. On the W. side of the river there is a hot spring at such a high temperature that the finger cannot be endured in it[54].

Saturday 3 Frozen keen in the night, fine weather during the day. Continued our course 8 miles S.W. down the river. The river runs through a sort of swamp these two days past. The hills on both sides are bearing pretty well wooded. The hunters were out these two days, but without success. They saw the faint tracks of some deer but could not come up with them.

Sunday 4 Sharp frost in the night raw cold weather during the day. Quit the river, the banks of which become rocky, & proceeded S. 12 miles across a mountain[55] to another small fork of the river. The river where we left it this morning takes a turn to the Westward it is then pretty well wooded and apparently well adapted for beaver, but some of the men who visited it yesterday, found very little appearance of them, a few traps were set but only one beaver taken this morning. The road the greater part of the way today very stony. Several of the horses are becoming lame, their hoofs are being worn out. Found some oak in the mountains among the pine & cedar trees[56]. F. Champaigne & J. Toupin each killed a horse to eat, provisions are becoming scarce among the people. The hunters were again out in the mountains but without success. There are some deer tracks but they are very shy, probably on account of being much hunted by the Indians whose tracks quite fresh are to be met with in every direction.

Monday 5 Cold, blowing fresh part of the day. Continued our journey down the river 8 miles S.S.W. The road stony part of the way. This fork here is pretty large and pretty well wooded with ash, poplar[57] and willows, but there are no appearances of beaver in it though apparently well suited for them.

Tuesday 6 Frost in the morning, cold weather. Continued our journey 10 miles S.S.W. across a plain, a rocky hill & then another plain to the big river, part of the road very stony. The large river here runs through a swampy place & has little or no wood. Just below where we are encamped it is confined between rocky hills[58]. There are numbers of geese in the river but very few of them were killed. The hunters were again out in the mountains but as usual without success. Several Indians were encamped here but fled on our approach and gained the rocks. Some women were found in the plains who could not escape, they got some small presents but none of them returned to the camp.

Wednesday 7 Frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Continued our journey 10 miles S.S.W. down the river and across a point to head of an extensive plain[59]. The road hilly & very stony the most of the day. Crossed the river twice & cut across the part which considerably shortened our road. Came upon some Indians before they were aware. They fled, but some of the young men came up with them & when they saw that no harm was intended they became less alarmed. A man & a boy were brought to the camp and received presents of some small articles. At the station we left a number of Indians assembled on a hill beyond the river opposite to us but did not return to the camp until we had left it. There is the appearance of a chance beaver, a few traps were set, but the people are afraid that the people [Indians] will steal them. The river here is of a considerable size and apparently well suited for beaver.

Thursday 8 Frost in the night, thick fog in the morning, fine weather afterward. Continued our journey 10 miles S.W. to the lower end of the plain at the entrance of the fork[60]. There are the recent tracks of a great many Indians but they fly at our approach. One beaver was taken & Pichette had two of his traps stolen. L. Rondeau's wife has again fallen ill with the fever & could with difficulty be got up to the encampment. Two of the men A. Longtain & J. Toupin are recovering but very slowly.

Friday 9 Frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Proceeded on our journey down the river 12 miles S.W., the road very stony and hilly and in places lay through thickets of underwood. The horses are becoming lame, their hoofs are worn down with continual marching [on] stony road. Numbers of Indians all the way along the river. Some of them returned to the camp in the evening and received a few trifles as presents. C. Plant lost one of his horses with a load upon him & was not able to find him, his being left on the way was a piece of great negligence.

Saturday 10 Frost and fog in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Did not raise camp in order that Plante might return in quest of his horse, but he did not find him, probably the Indians picked him up shortly after he was left. Some of the Indians visited us during the day & received some trifles as presents. They also traded a few pieces of dry salmon with the people.

Sunday 11 Fine weather. Left the river which takes a turn to the Westward & proceeded across the woods 10 miles S. by W. to a plain on a small river near the foot of the Mountains[61]. The hunters were again out but without success. Today we fell in with the tracks of a party with horses who may have passed this way in the spring. Who they are we cannot conjecture[62].

Monday 12 Sharp frost in morning, fine weather afterwards. Proceeded 5 miles up the river to another small plain at the foot of the mountains where we encamped[63] it would have been too long to cross the mountains with our poor lame horses. The young men were again off hunting but without success there are a few tracks of deer, but they are very shy.

Tuesday 13 Fine weather, but rather cold in the Mountain. Crossed the Mountain a distance of 15 miles S. by W.[64] and encamped on the declivity of its S. side, among oak, pine & other trees at a small creek. Our road hilly but not many stones, lay through thick woods principally pines on the mountain, some of them very large, but as we begin to descend there is a considerable mixture of oak[65] and other trees. J. Favel killed 2 Deer, the other hunters were unsuccessful. This was a fatiguing day both on horses and people. Set our horses loose as there is no appearance of Indians and those on this side of the mountains are represented to be well disposed. The party whose tracks we saw two days ago had encamped here, they had 6 pieces[66].

Wednesday 14 Fine weather. The climate appears quite changed as we descend. Continued our course 15 miles S. by W. along the foot of the mountain, the road hilly & in places stony. We mistook our road or we would have been out in the plain[67]. Some Indians quite naked came to the camp in the evening and received some trifles as presents, they were not the least alarmed or shy but appear afraid of the dogs & horses. Some of the people visited their little huts the women had all fled, but the men immediately offered their visitors food. The hunters were again out but without success, though there were a good many tracks of Deer.

Thursday 15 Fine weather. Continued our journey 7 miles S.W. down the creek, the road good as we descend the wood principally oak[68] is becoming clear. The hunters were out & killed four chivereau, viz: Favel, T. Tevatcon, Smith, & Peevish each one. Some of the people were out with their traps but set very few there are some marks of beaver close by the camp. The hunters missed 3 grizle bears.

Friday 16 Fine weather. Continued our route down the [river] to where it joins a large fork, Cano river[69]. The road good. The hunters out a few traps were set and 15 Deer & 1 Elk killed animals are pretty numerous. Two beaver were taken.

Saturday 17 Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order that the people might kill a few deer and also to allow our horses to repose and feed a little. Deer & elk killed. All hands are living well these two days and they are in much need of it as we have been a long time with very little of any thing fresh, indeed many of the people have very little of any thing. Four beaver were taken. Beaver are scarce here & they are very lean.

Sunday 18 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 8 miles S. down the creek to near its junction with the big river[70]. The road good. The hunters out & killed 7 deer. An old grizzle bear[71] was killed, 7 beaver were taken & some more traps set.

Monday 19 Overcast weather, some rain. Had all hands out in quest of wood to make canoes. They found pine trees about the plain of a sufficient size. I had determined not to make canoes until farther down where it is supposed we would have found people but seeing the height of the water in the main river which is such that it cannot be crossed on horseback without much danger & consequently could not be well trapped otherwise but with canoes, we delay to make them here. Hollowing out the trees will be a laborious work. The people are divided into threes one of which is to remain ashore with the camp and two to descend in the canoes. Two Deer & a brown bear were killed & 10 beaver taken. The people found some Indians encamped on the big river, who seemed glad to see them and immediately offered them food.

Tuesday 20 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The people busy at their canoes. The hunters out, & killed 9 deer. There are great numbers of geese about here, but they are shy and difficult to approach, and they are very lean beside those killed beyond the mountain.

Wednesday 21 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The men busy at their canoes. Some of the young men out hunting & killed 8 Deer.

Thursday 22 Overcast, fine warm weather. The people still busy at their canoes. 3 Chivereau and one grizzle bear killed. 8 beaver taken in a few traps which some of the men have in the water.

Friday 23 Overcast, lowering weather. Did not raise camp. Our horses have good feeding here which with the rest they are getting is improving them fast. There is a large camp of natives on the other side of the river a good way up opposite where the men are making the canoes. Yesterday they were weeping & making great lamentations. Today two of the young men crossed the river to set some traps & on approaching the above camp observed several fires, six, on the first of which the body of an Indian was burning, they did not advance to see whether the other fires were occupied in the same manner. The Indians at the camp were weeping and lamenting as yesterday. Four Indians visited us during the day these are the first who have ventured near us since we have been here. They were quite naked except a small piece of deer skin with the hair on about the shoulders, they had no arms but staffs or rather rods in their hands, they were much afraid of the dogs, and also of the horses. We could draw no information from them respecting the sorrow and burning of the Indians above aluded to.[72] Gave them some food, & a few trifles as presents which they eagerly accepted & went off much pleased.

Saturday 24 Some light showers during the day. Thunder and excessive heavy rain in the night. Two of the canoes were finished today the others are pretty well advanced. Four beaver and an otter were taken.

Took Kanota & the boy Peevish [?] with me to visit the camp where the Indians were burning yesterday. The Indians had all fled from the camp which had all the appearance of devastation, the most of the huts were burnt, large caches of provisions principally acorns remained but much broken down. We found the places where four individuals had been burnt, some of them not entirely consumed, their skulls remained, the hard parts of which were broken so that there is little doubt that they died by violence. There were also different places which had the appearance of graves but perhaps it was where provisions were concealed and not recepticals of the dead. The plain altogether had a most desolate appearance. During my absence the Indians who came to the camp yesterday reported their visit and by signs made it understood that a few nights ago a party of savages from across the mountains probably the chastys [i. e. Shastas?] had fallen upon the camp above aluded to while the people were all asleep, killed two of them and carried off several into slavery.[73]

Sunday 25 Rained in the night, fine warm weather during the day. The most of the canoes ready. I directed them to proceed up the river where there is the appearance of a chance beaver, they are to remain off two days & if they find beaver worth while we are to move camp up the river. The hunters out & killed 4 deer & 4 elk[74] the animals here are generally very lean.

Monday 26 Heavy rain the most of the day. The people with the canoes returned & state that they found no beaver worth while to stay for, but they have left their canoes too heavy & are unable to work them against the current which I conceive the principal cause of their returning. 4 beaver taken.

Tuesday 27 Overcast, fair weather. The people busy cutting away the superfluous wood from their canoes. 4 beaver taken. The young men out hunting & killed 5 elk, 3 Deer & 1 antelope. The animals are all very lean.

Wednesday 28 Stormy weather. Raised camp & proceeded across a point & down the big river to Sycamore[75] river 10 miles S.E. The canoe party started with their canoes and are permitted to remain absent two nights. There are a great many Indians encamped along the river. They are very much afraid of the horses.[76] Some of them visited us in the evening. Some of the men visited this fork but found no appearance of beaver tho' it appears well adapted for them. Very poor feeding here for the horses.

Thursday 29 Fair weather. Continued our route 15 miles S. across some stony hills & fell on the big river at the commencement of the plains[77]. This was a hard day's work both on horses and people the road exceedingly rugged and stony. Crossed one small creek. We have pretty good feeding here for the horses. There is a large camp of Indians on the opposite side of the river a little below us.

Friday 30 Fair fine weather. Continued our route 14 miles S. down the river to Quesnell river[78] and encamped near the big river. The canoes are all behind us they are awaiting us above, the men came to the camp afoot in the evening, they have caught very few beaver yet. All the way along the river here there is a belt of woods principally oak which is surrounded by a plain with tufts of wood here & there which extend to the foot of the mountain, where the hills are again wooded. There are a great many Indians all the way along the river. They seem to live principally on acorns. There are but few tracks of animals here. Some of the men set a few traps up the little river where we are encamped. A little below our encampment I found a party of about 30 naked Indians employed catching hares with nets. They have a wear for catching fish constructed across the river opposite our encampment. None of the natives ventured to visit us.

December 1832, Saturday 1 Heavy rain the most of the day. Did not raise camp on account of the bad weather. The canoe men went off. 9 beaver & two otters taken, 2 deer were killed beside some wild fowl.

Saturday 2 Showery weather heavy rain in the evening. Continued our route 10 miles S. down the river to Bear creek[79] where we encamped a short distance from the big river, the banks of which are so steep that our horses could not drink nor could we easily get water for ourselves. There is such a number of deep gullies along the bank of the river that it is difficult to follow its bank so that we are obliged to pass a short distance from it. Most of the gullies are full of water & many of them so deep that they are impassable. Some of the canoe people came to the camp. 11 beaver and 1 Otter taken. Passed a creek early in the day. Also passed several camps of Indians there are also some encamped not far from us & have wears constructed in the small river for catching fish. The natives here seem to speak a different language from those farther up the river[80] but like them are mostly naked except a small piece of skin about the shoulders those near us are collecting wood for their winter houses and carry immense loads on their heads. There appears to be some sickness resembling an ague prevailing among them.

Monday 3 Heavy rain in the night & most part of the day. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp. 5 beaver taken in some traps which were set up the little river yesterday morning.

Tuesday 4 Cloudy fair weather. Continued our journey 9 miles S. down the river. The canoe people visited the camp. 16 beaver & 1 otter taken. The Indians are becoming more numerous as we descend the river. A grizzle bear was killed. These animals are very lean for this season of the year.

Wednesday 5 Very heavy rain in the night, cloudy fair weather during the day. Some of our horses were astray in the morning and were not found till toward evening, which deterred us from raising camp till late in the day, when we moved two miles farther down the river to find better feeding for the horses. The river rose four to five feet the night before last and last night fell as many.

Thursday 6 Fine weather. Continued our journey 9 miles S. down the river and encamped a little below an Indian village, which was the only place we could approach the river for our horses to drink on account of the number of gullies and the steep banks. Some of the canoers came to the camp. 15 beaver & 2 otters taken. The Indians beside whom we are encamped dwell in holes in the ground of a conical form. They visited the camp to the number of 40 to 50, and traded some trifling articles with the people.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Fort Vancouver, headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company, Columbia District, 1825-49. A United States military reservation occupies the site of the old fur trade capital adjoining the present city of Vancouver, Washington.

2. See "Members of Work's California Expedition" which follows these notes.

3. The "Old Lake Country" is the region of the Klamath Lakes. This district was reached by Finan McDonald in 1825, and was explored and trapped by Peter Skene Ogden in 1826-27. Thompson Coit Elliott, ed., "The Peter Skene Ogden Journals," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, X (December 1909), 331-65; XI (June, December 1910), 201-22, 355-99. The "Old Snake Country" would be the Snake River region.

4. "Bonaventura Valley" is the Sacramento Valley. "This year the Snake party proceeds towards the waters of Ogden's River and perhaps to the Bonaventura or properly the Sacramento where McLeod was in 1828-29." Letter of Chief Factor John McLoughlin to Governor George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, October 28, 1832 (transcript in Archives of British Columbia, Victoria).

5. Ogden's River, the present Humboldt in Nevada. This stream was discovered by Peter Skene Ogden in 1828 and called by him "Unknown river." Map, "Ogden's Track 1829" (photostat in files of Oregon Historical Society; original in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

6. The "South branch" of the Bonaventura was a non-existent stream conjectured to drain lakes of the Great Basin.

7. Pit River, actually the main Sacramento, in rare seasons of high water drains Goose Lake (called Pit Lake by John Work), on the Oregon border in northeastern California.

8. For the next five days the party is engaged in crossing portages around the rocky barriers which impede the Columbia where it breaks through the Cascade Range. These portages are: the Cascades, the Dalles, and the Chutes. The water power produced by the Cascades is now harnessed by Bonneville Dam.

9. Twenty times in the next six weeks Work begins his journal entry with "Fine weather." For these words three dots have been substituted in this printed transcript.

10. Day's River, i.e., John Days River, named for an early trapper. Work is skirting the Oregon shore of the Columbia.

11. Umatilla River, Oregon.

12. "Fort Walla Walla, originally a North West Company fort on the left bank of the Columbia River, at the mouth of Walla Walla River, 5 miles below mouth of Lewis or Great Snake River; built in 1818. The Hudson's Bay Company succeeded to this fort in 1821 and rebuilt it in 1841, the walls and bastions of brick. It was surrounded by sandy desert. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed indemnity for this fort in 1865. It was

sometimes called Fort Nez Perce." Ernest Voorhies, comp., "Historic Forts and Trading Posts" (mimeographed and bound, Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930), p. 175.

13. "Rocks of the Kyuse Girls where the Walla Walla debouches into the Columbia River." Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist*, (Toronto, 1859), p. 266.

14. Francis Payette, originally one of John Jacob Astor's men, remained in the employ of the North West Company and later was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

15. Sometimes berdach, bundosh or berdash, an hermaphrodite. Information on this aberrant among American Indians appears in: Myrtis Jarrell, trans., and J. B. N. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz; an Account of His Experiences among the Fur Traders and American Indians on the Mississippi and Upper Missouri Rivers during the Years 1846 to 1852*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 115 (Washington, 1937), 221, 214, 269; also Ottis Bedney Sperlin, "Two Kootenay Women Masquerading as Men? Or Were They One?" *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (April 1930), 120-30.

16. Marrons—Wild horses.

17. Butter Creek, Umatilla and Morrow counties, Oregon.

18. Fort Colvile, "Hudson's Bay Company fort on Colville River about one mile from junction with the Columbia River, State of Washington. It was a wooden fort of large size, enclosed with stockade and bastions. The buildings were made of cedar logs. Cultivated fields surrounded the fort. It was established in 1825, and of the Oregon Country forts, it was next in importance to Fort Vancouver." Voorhies, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

19. Pierre Chrysologue Pambrum, in charge of Fort Nez Perce.

20. Probably Willow Creek, Morrow County.

21. Probably Rhea Creek. Work is traversing a rough region and his route is not very clear.

22. The Battle of Pierre's Hole took place the first week of August, 1832. "The rendezvous of 1832 at Pierre's Hole was one of the largest and most picturesque gatherings ever held in the mountains and it was further distinguished as the occasion of one of the most famous battles of the early history of the west." Leroy R. Hafen and William James Ghent, *Broken Hand* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1931), p. 97.

23. The camp was near the site of Hardman in Morrow County.

24. Probably Cottonwood Creek.

25. Dog River is an old name for Hood River. This may, however, be "Day's River" —Work's handwriting is not clear.

26. Beaver *Castor canadensis sabauratus*, Golden Beaver. California River "Land" Otter—*Lutra canadensis brevipilosus.*

27. Near Seneca, Grant County, Oregon.

28. Named by Peter Skene Ogden for a trapper, Antoine Sylvaille.

29. The antelope was probably *Antilocapra americana americana.* The deer at Malheur Lake might have been the White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus ochrourus*, or the Rocky Mountain Mule Deer, *Odocoileus hernionous hernionous.*

30. Malheur and Harney lakes, with the small Mud Lake which joins them, receive the drainage of the Harney Valley.

31. The camp was near the site of the town of Burns.

32. Wright Point, a volcanic dyke over which the trail climbed.

33. Mud Lake, sometimes called Stampede Lake.

34. Malheur Lake is fresh water, Harney Lake is alkali.

35. The brigade has marched along the north short of Harney Lake, past the springs of the OO Ranch and the isolated peak of Iron Mountain, and is aiming at Wagontire, location of the next water supply. "Interior Oregon . . . contains many interesting landmarks that are familiar to stockmen of that section. These landmarks are far apart and in

traveling through the country one always finds it necessary to cover the distance between two of them every day. They are usually watering places and it takes a hard day's travel from one to another in most cases and in some cases deep into the night. They stand out in the great Oregon desert like the beacon lights and guiding points to a mariner at sea. The stockman or traveler who does not know the landmarks of the Oregon range is in as much danger as the pilot at sea who is ignorant of the charts and maps of the country he is in. One of the most interesting of these buttes is Ram's Peak or Wagontire Mountain. It is marked on the maps as Ram's Peak but the stockmen all know it as Wagontire . . . This mountain is situated near the Harney and Lake county line and is supposed to be in the center of the desert. A large creek flows near its foothills and a number of springs boil out of its base. It is 30 to 50 miles from this point in any direction to other water. The water from this creek and springs flows out into the plains and is drunk up by the dry sands." *History of Central Oregon* (Spokane, 1905), p. 1094. Modern highways now make it possible to travel from Harney Lake to Goose Lake in less than a day. Work had no choice but travel from one water hole to another, which simplifies the tracing of his route in this region.

36. The party was at Alkali Lake, Lake County, Oregon, in the opinion of the annotator who traced the route. Lewis A. McArthur, president of the Oregon Historical Society, however, believes that the brigade went south from the OO Ranch to the Warner Lakes, which were east of Lake Abert and Abert Rim. Space will not be taken here for the many arguments in favor of and against each identification. The reader may draw his own conclusion from the text of the diary.

37. Juniper Mountain.

38. Lava Beds Bighorn Gray Sheep, *Ovis canadensis Californiana.*

39. Lake Abert at the base of Abert Rim. Both were named by John Charles Frémont in honor of Col. J. J. Abert, chief of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A.

40. The old trail followed the west side of Lake Abert where water was available in springs.

41. Possibly Chewaucan River.

42. Crooked Creek. The camp was probably at the site of Chandler State Park.

43. Blacktail deer are no longer found in this region.

44. *Prunus sub cordata kelloggii.* These plums were a major source of food for the local Indians. The fruit pits were used by them as beads.

45. Work is following the route of the present highway.

46. Hunter's Hot Springs. Bones are still to be seen in the spring. This is a clear record of the use of hot springs as a depository for the dead. The Indians of northeastern California and western Nevada practiced this means of burial quite extensively.

47. These springs are still to be seen between the highway and the lake a short distance south of Lakeview.

48. Surprise Valley in northeastern California lies over the ridge bordering the east shore of Goose Lake.

49. Willow Creek, Modoc County, California. The brigade has crossed the 42nd parallel and is now in Mexican territory.

50. Probably *Sanicula bipinnate,* a poison sanicle called wild parsnip. Pioneer annals record many tales of death from this cause in this particular locality. Work might easily have mistaken the peeled root of this plant for a mushroom.

51. Davis Creek.

52. East Fork of Pit River.

53. All Saint's Day.

54. Hot Springs near Alturas.

55. Aden Mountain.

56. The oak no doubt was *Quercus Kelloggii Newb.;* the pine, *Pinus ponderosa Dougl.;* and the cedar *Librocedras decurrens Torr.*

57. The ash was *Fraxinus oregona Nutt.*, and the poplar or cottonwood *Pupulus Fremontii Wats.*

58. The party has left Pit River at Ash Creek and crossed the hills to reach the stream again below Bieber.

59. Fall River Valley.

60. Fall River which flows into Pit River from the north.

61. Hat Creek which flows into Pit River from the south.

62. The presence of another and rival trapping party in this region was a matter of grave concern to John Work. Skillful trailers, both Indian and white, in his brigade of hunters could tell him that the camp was not that of any Hudson's Bay Company men, therefore he knew he was facing competition.

63. Camp was made on Hat Creek on what is now the Dave Doyle ranch, north of a site called Dutch Flat and not far from the Hat Creek Ranger Station.

64. The mountain pass traversed by Work's party in crossing the Cascade Range appears to be the oldest route used by Columbia River trappers on their way to California. Louis Pichette is said to have visited California in 1820-21. Work recorded on October 13 that two of his men had passed this way before. Pichette was evidently one, and Kanota, the Hawaiian, the other. The trail apparently was clearly indicated to Work, and from the entries made by him it was identified by Mr. Reuben P. Box of the U. S. Forest Service at the Hat Creek Ranger Station. The trail passed between Burney Mountain (altitude, 7,871 feet) and Stony Butte (altitude, 7,494 feet), Stony Butte is called Tamarack Peak on some maps; it lies northeast of Magee Peak. A secondary road follows this old pack trail.

65. The pines were *Pinus sabiniana Doug.*, digger pine, and *Pinus attenuata Lemmon*, knob cone pine. The oaks were *Quercus Douglasii*, H. & A., blue oak and *Quercus Wislizenci*, A. D. C., interior live oak.

66. Six pieces would be approximately three hundred pounds. While a piece varied in weight in different regions it is estimated to have been fifty pounds in Oregon, and two were a pack load for an Indian horse. Work now knows his rival's take of beaver.

67. The brigade has reached the headwaters of Cow Creek, a tributary of the Sacramento River, and follows down the divide between Old Cow Creek and South Cow Creek to the plains near Millville, Shasta County.

68. *Quercus lobata Ned.*

69. Canoe River is Cow Creek after it receives the network of tributaries which feed it.

70. Work uses the expression "the big river" for different streams encountered subsequently, but there is no doubt that "the big river" in this instance refers to the Sacramento. Camp was made opposite the site of the town of Anderson.

71. The grizzly bear, *Ursus colusus*, Sacramento grizzly.

72. These were probably Achomawi Indians of Pit River. A cremation ceremony was going on at the time, the lamenting over the dead being part of the ritual. The staffs or rods carried by the Indians are probably identifiable as digging sticks.

73. The Klamaths and Modocs, prior to their treaty of 1864 with the Government, annually raided the Achomawi settlements on Pit River to capture slaves. These slaves were traded to the Chinook at the Dalles on the Columbia. The incident recorded here by Work probably refers to such a slave raid. The name may be "charlys."

74. Dwarf elk, *Cervus nannodes.*

75. Sycamore (sometimes Sycamous) River is probably Battle Creek. Five of the streams which were reached and called by name by Work on his progress south along the Sacramento but which apparently were named by his predecessors on this part of

Oregon West of the Rocky Mountains, compiled in the Bureau of Topographical Engi- the trail, appear on a map published in 1838: *'Map of the United States Territory of neers, under the direction of Col. J. J. Abert.* Wash: Hood, 1838, 25th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 470 (June 6, 1838); also in 25th Cong., 3rd sess., H. Rep. 101 (Feb. 16, 1839) and in other publications. The California portion of the map has many inaccuracies, and until Work's journal came to light there was no way to identify the streams tributary to the Sacramento from the east, named as Canoe River (Cow Creek), Sycamous or Sycamore River (Battle Creek), Quesnel's River (possibly Deer Creek), Bear River (Pine Creek), and Deception River (undoubtedly Butte Creek) which ends in a swamp.

76. An indication that horses were not yet in use by the Indians of the upper Sacramento.

77. Red Bluff.

78. Deer Creek.

79. Pine Creek.

80. The linguistic boundary noted here by Work was that between the Yana and Maidu tribes.

MEMBERS OF WORK'S CALIFORNIA EXPEDITION

"My party," wrote John Work in his journal on January 22, 1833 [consists of] twenty-eight men, twenty-two women, forty-four children and six Indians, in all one hundred, Michel's [Laframboise'] party eighteen men, twelve women, sixteen children, seventeen Indians, in all sixty-three, total one hundred and sixty-three persons."

A list of the messes of the California brigade, in John Work's handwriting, furnishes the names of twenty-six men of his party. To reach a total of twenty-eight men, Work himself must be included and one other. It is reasonable to assume that Pierre Lagasse (spelled variously LaGasse, Lagace, or Legace), Work's father-in-law and companion on later expeditions, was present at his daughter's campfire, although his name does not appear in the journal until after the advent of Michel Laframboise and his party.

Work gives the number of women as twenty-two, but in the journal mentions none by her own name. Some of this group, in all probability, were slaves; others were the consorts of French Canadian trappers. A list of the members of the expedition who were sick in August 1833, in John Work's handwriting, mentions a wife with each of the following: J. Cornoyer, J. Favel, C. Groslui, P. Gilbeau, L. Kanota, M. Laferte, A. Longtain, Bte. Obichon, L. Pichette, C. Plante, J. Rocquebrin, C. Rondeau, L. Rondeau, T. Smith, J. Toupin, T. Tevatcon, and J. Work; also P. Bernie who had probably come with Laframboise. In many instances the fur-trade marriages were consecrated by religious ceremony after the arrival of Roman Catholic priests in Oregon and were duly recorded, although it has not always been possible to identify the Indian women whom the trappers married as their companions on the California trail.

No births are mentioned by John Work in his daily entries, but circumstantial evidence coupled with reason indicates that more than one child was added to the census roll of the expedition. The marriage record of Louis Pichette, for instance, supports this theory. French Canadians were noted for their large families. Three small daughters of John and Josette Work—Jane, Sarah, and Letitia—are known to have been among the children of the brigade. In addition, the journal mentions "J. Dorland's boy," "N. Finlay, a boy," "C. Groslui's son," "L. Lavalle, a boy," and "the boy Peevish"; the list of sick includes "Pierre" and "Maria," apparently children of J. Cornoyer.

Francis Payette, who was to have joined the party at Fort Nez Perce, was too ill to make the trip. If any member of the brigade assumed his duties as second in command, we are not so informed by the journal. Work evidently acted as his own clerk.

A second census of the brigade after the parties divided, on May 13, 1833, gives the number of men with Work as thirty-three, therefore we know that five of Michel Laframboise' brigade elected to remain longer in California. One of these was probably P. Bernie, who died on September 26. No complete list of the men who accompanied Laframboise is as yet available.

The whole story of the French Canadian trappers who later settled as farmers in the states of Oregon and Washington and in British Columbia remains to be written. Sources for their personal records are diverse. In the "List of employees of the Hudson's Bay Company" many of Work's men are indicated as working in the "Columbia District" as early as 1822. The original manuscript lists are in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and photostats are in the library of the Oregon Historical Society. The lists will be referred to hereafter as "H. B. C. List," followed by the years in which the name of the employee appears.

The most recent evaluation of the Canadian residents at French Prairie, Oregon, "Oregon's First White Settlers on French Prairie," appeared in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLIII (September 1942), 198-209. It was written by a former governor of Oregon, Oswald West. Previous issues of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are the most prolific source for information on the French Canadians. Space does not permit the inclusion of all this material here, but most of Work's men are listed individually in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, Volumes I to XL, 1900-1939* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1941). This work hereafter will be referred to as Oregon *Index*.

Parish records of the first Catholic churches in the Oregon country contain interesting entries of the births, marriages and deaths of Canadian residents. The original parish records of St. James Church, Vancouver, Washington, and of St. Paul's Church, at St. Paul (formerly French Prairie), Oregon, are in the Roman Catholic Chancery, Portland; photostats are in the library of the Oregon Historical Society.

State and county histories, newspaper articles, particularly obituaries and pioneer reminiscences, are other valuable sources for interesting bits of history of Oregon residents when the region was still held jointly by England and the United States, populated largely by French speaking Canadians, and about to be invaded by American land seekers.

John Work's list of men comprising the various messes of his California brigade includes the names given below. Veterans of the 1831-32 expedition will be indicated by an asterisk (*).

Mess No. 1

F. Champaigne—François Champaigne* (or Champagne), a veteran of Work's Snake Brigade which returned to Fort Vancouver on July 27, 1832. A list of the members of that brigade is given in William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), pp. 63-66. Champaigne accompanied Work on his Umpqua expedition of 1834. See Oregon *Index,* p. 114. Work's sick list of August 1833 shows that Champaigne was accompanied by his wife and at least four children.

L. Boisvant—Louis Boisevant (also Boivers, Boisvert, etc.), a trapper. H. B. C. List, No. 336, 1823-24.

J. S. LaRocque—Joseph Sebastian LaRocque, or Larocque (sometimes given as Lorange*). H. B. C. List, No. 971, 1823-24; Oregon *Index*, p. 388.

LaRocque's woman companion, Marianne of the Cayuse, furnished romantic excitement for the expedition. The couple is mentioned by later travelers in California, where the pair returned after the discovery of gold. Charles Edward Pancoast, *A Quaker Forty-Niner* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 323-24; Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County* (Eugene, Oregon: Printed for Harold Holmes by John Henry Nash, 1940), p. 65. Cox erroneously calls Marianne a "pseudo-wife." The St. Paul Parish Register contains the following entry: "I, Tiberius Sanderino, have baptised Marianne LaRocque and have joined [her] in matrimony with Joseph Sebastian LaRocque. Age of wife twenty-seven years. This day, 20th May, 1845."

L. Quintall—Laurent Quintal*. H. B. C. List, No. 870, 1823-24; Oregon *Index,* p. 607. Quintal was called a "sly dog" by Alexander Ross.

T. Smith—Thomas Smith*, a trapper, whom Work called "a stupid, lifeless fellow." Oregon *Index,* p. 692. This may be the notorious "Pegleg"

Smith who was in the Rocky Mountains as early as 1826. "Pegleg's" first name was Thomas and he claimed to have worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and to have come to California at an early date.

Mess No. 2

J. Cornoyer—Joseph Cornoyer. H. B. C. List, No. 621; Oregon *Index*, p. 152; West, *op. cit.*, p. 207. This man may have been the Carney* or Coving of the 1831-32 expedition. See Lewis and Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 63. The sick list includes a wife and three children.

Bte. Dubruille—Baptiste Dubruille* (or Dubreuil). Oregon *Index*, p. 192; West, *loc. cit.*

J. Toupin—A hunter, probably the same as J. Toupe* of the 1831 Snake expedition. Oregon *Index*, pp. 744-45; West, *loc. cit.* He was accompanied by a wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list.

Bte. Gardipie—Baptiste Gardipie* (Gardipre, or Gadipre), a trapper. Oregon *Index*, p. 250. In 1846 Gardipre acted as guide for two emigrant parties. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 564.

Peevish—Possibly Pevish, or Perish. The Pinet* listed by Lewis and Phillips may be the same person. No initial is given.

Mess No. 3

M. Laferte—Michel Laferte* (or LaForte, Lefort, Lafont, etc.), a trapper. One record gives his name as Michael Lafferty! Oregon *Index*, p. 380; West, *loc. cit.* He was accompanied by a wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list.

P. Gilbeau—This name may be Gilbain, Gilbran, or Guilbeau. Lewis and Phillips list a P. Grell.* His wife, child, and Indian are included in the sick list.

C. Groslui—Possibly Grosbin*, Graslin, or Garlin. He died on September 17, 1833, leaving a widow and six children.

L.Pichette—Louis Pichette* (sometimes called Dupre). H. B. C. List, No. 1253, 1823-24; Oregon *Index*, p. 570. His wife, child, and an Indian are included in the sick list. Either the child or the Indian was named Nicholas, probably the latter. "Louis Pichette left Canada in 1817, with a company of 25 trappers, and wintered on the plains, losing seven of the number, and arriving at Astoria in 1818. Pichette roamed about in California and Oregon for twelve years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1832 he settled on a farm in the Willamette Valley, where he resided for over 40 years. He died November 20, 1876, aged 78 years." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 74.

Pichette was no doubt one of the men reported to Spanish authorities by Indians of interior California in 1821 as "white men clad in leather and armed with long rifles." Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1880), II, 445. Pichette was accompanied in 1832-33 by an Indian consort who became his wife. "February 3, 1840, Louis Pichette, called Dupre, formerly of St. Onis, Montreal, and Margaret Bercier were married. Said spouses recognized for their legitimate children Louis aged seven and one half years, Dominique, aged two and one half years, Rose, aged one year and six months and Esther aged one month and four days. He recognized also Edward for his illegitimate child, aged nine years." St. James Church, Vancouver, Washington, parish records, *op. cit.* "Louis Pichette had twenty-one offspring." Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, 74.

Mess No. 4

A. Longtain—Andre Longtain*, a trapper. Oregon *Index*, p. 411; West, *loc. cit.* A wife and three children are included in the sick list. Some descendants still live near French Prairie, and a great granddaughter, Mrs. Arthur LaRue, is a resident of Berkeley, California.

A. Masseau—A trapper. The name may be Moisseau, Majean, Moisan, Moyeau, Masson*, or Muslar.

J. Roquebin—Sometimes Work spells the name Rocquebin, or Rocquebrin. It may even be Rayburn*, Reyhn, or Rougebin. A wife and at least one child accompanied him, according to the sick list.

J. Favel—The name may be Faul*. The sick list shows that a wife and a little girl were with him.

Mess No. 5

C. Plante—Charles Plante*, or Plant, a half-breed trapper who sometimes acted as scout for the brigade. He was accompanied by his Indian wife, three children, and an Indian, according to the sick list. See also Oregon *Index*, p. 577; and West, *loc. cit.*

C. Rondeau—Charles Rondeau*, one of two brothers who accompanied Work. His wife and two children are included in the sick list. H. B. C. List, No. 1090, 1823-24; Oregon *Index*, p. 633; West, *loc. cit.* Rondeau acted as guide for Hall Kelley in 1834. Fred Wilbur Powell, ed., *Hall J. Kelley on Oregon* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 141.

L. Rondeau—Louis Rondeau*, a trapper; accompanied by his wife, a child, and an Indian, according to the sick list. H. B. C. List, No. 1070, 1823-24; Oregon *Index*, p. 633. "An Agreement. . . between Edw. M. Kern, Commanding U. States forces at Fort Sacramento (on the part of the United States) on one part and M. Rondeau, M. Morrison, M. McGilveray, M. Hitchcock, M. Meadows, M. Pillett, M. Morea, Baptiste an Indian, on the other part" is in the Fort Sutter Papers (MSS in Huntington Library, bound transcript with printed commentaries in California Historical Society library), No. 35. Rondeau had made fourteen trips past Sutter's Fort, "once running an express for Capt. Ringgold." Fort Sutter Papers, No. 36.

T. Tevatcon—This name may be Tevateau, or even Thomas Tanateau as listed in Oregon *Index*, p. 724. A wife and a child were with him on the expedition, according to the sick list.

Mess No. 6

L. Kanota—Louis Kanota*, an Hawaiian, had been over part of the trail to California at some previous date. He was a favorite employee whom Work used as a scout. Oregon *Index*, p. 362. The sick list gives him a wife, a child, and an Indian.

G. R. Rocque—The name may be Raybin—it is variously spelled.

P. Satakarass—Lewis and Phillips give the name as Satakays*.

Bte. Obichon—Baptiste Oubichon, usually spelled Aubichon but sometimes Oubishaw. Oregon *Index*, p. 29; West, *loc. cit.* His wife is included in the sick list.

The San Jose *Mercury* and the Civil War

By Benjamin Bronston Beales

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

THE pueblo of San José was established in 1777 by Felipe de Neve, first Spanish governor of California: sixty-six persons were sent from San Francisco under the leadership of José Moraga. They were charged with the task of providing grain for the military garrisons of Monterey and San Francisco. It was not long before the settlers in and around the little town were producing grain, leather, and tallow for export. These found a ready market on Russian and American ships which occasionally called at San Francisco in the course of trade along the coast. Fresh meat and vegetables also were sold to American whaling vessels when they made port in San Francisco.

San Jose remained under Spanish jurisdiction until Mexico won its independence in 1821; and it remained in Mexican hands until 1848, when California was ceded to the United States.

The town grew steadily until by 1851 the population numbered over five hundred. An act of the first California legislature incorporated San Jose as a city on March 27, 1850. Included in the population were such diverse nationalities as Mexicans, Peruvians, Chileans, Californians, Indians and some Americans. As in most California towns of the day, the homicide rate was high, although a genuine effort to remedy this condition was made by the various mayors and city councils. Population growth was steady. By 1860 there were over three thousand inhabitants in the city.

At the outbreak of the Civil War there were two newspapers in San Jose. The oldest, the San Jose *Mercury*, under a variety of names had been published regularly for a period of about ten years. It began publication as the *Weekly Visitor*. Politically it was first Whig, but later in the same year it became Democratic. In 1852 its name was changed to the *Register*. The next year it became the *Telegraph*, and in 1861 it was sold to James Jerome Owen and Benjamin H. Cottle.

Owen, according to Eugene Sawyer, was "a man among men . . . broad-minded and scrupulously honest."[1] He was born in Onondaga County, New York on July 22, 1827, the second son of a family of seven sons and two daughters. His father died when James was twelve, and young Owen soon left home to make his own way. He became an apprentice printer in Auburn, New York, and when he was eighteen received his journeyman's rating. No doubt it was here that he began to develop his taste for journalism. The young man spent much of his spare time in home study in order to fill in the gaps left by his lack of formalized education. That he did well is attested to by the forceful style and eloquent appeal of his later editorials.

Owen was married at twenty-one, and became the father of a family of six—two sons and four daughters. He remained a printer until 1850, when, leaving his family in New York State, he journeyed to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. A few months later he returned to New York, but came back to California in 1851. Obtaining employment as a messenger on the Sacramento River for the firm known as Gregory's Express, which was shortly after sold to Wells Fargo & Company, he remained at this work until 1853 when he again returned to New York.

For eight years the future editor of the *Mercury* appears to have been busily employed as farmer and teacher. For three years of this time he served as superintendent of schools for Cayuga County, and in 1857 he was elected to the assembly of the State of New York.

In 1861, just a few months before the beginning of the Civil War, Owen moved his family to San Jose and there established his home. Soon after his arrival, he and Benjamin H. Cottle purchased the San Jose *Telegraph*, changed its name to the *Mercury* and began immediate publication with Owen as editor. Owen and his paper gained a national reputation. Politically the editor was Republican, and throughout the war he was in the main loyal to Lincoln.

The second phase of his political career began in 1862 when he was elected to the California legislature as a representative from Santa Clara County. He was reelected in 1863 and was Speaker pro-tem during part of his second term. From 1882 to 1885 he was a trustee of the State Library. He retained his affiliations with the *Mercury* until 1885, and he died in San Francisco in 1895 at the age of sixty-eight.

The second newspaper in San Jose was the *Tribune*, a weekly which was established in 1854. In 1855 it was sold to George O'Daugherty. He vigorously opposed the Republicans in general and the *Mercury* in particular during 1861 and 1862. The *Tribune* was suppressed for eight months in 1862 and 1863, by order of General George Wright, for alleged seditious activity. It resumed publication later in 1863, but was shortly afterwards sold to Francis B. Murdoch, a Republican.

II. REACTION OF THE *MERCURY* TO GOVERNMENT POLICIES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Although the immediate cause of the Civil War was the question of the preservation of the Union, by October 1861, the editor of the *Mercury* was of the opinion that the end of the war would see the end of slavery in the United States.[1] That the Federal Government intentionally had been careful to evade the slavery question in the early stages of the war was conceded by the *Mercury* as a necessary means of maintaining national unity on the basis of the old *status quo.* By this time, however, Owen wrote, the seizure of slave-holders' property in the seceded states was justified as a means of hastening the reestablishment of national unity. Beyond and above all this, he saw freedom and free institutions as the "tendency of the age."[2]

Owen editorialized in December that the President could issue a general proclamation freeing all slaves without direct reference to any article in the Constitution. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he continued, this was the President's right.[3] In a later issue Owen explained that personally he favored freeing the slaves by proclamation in the seceded states only, but not in the so-called border areas. For the latter states he favored "peaceable purchase" as the best means of meeting the problem.[4] He believed, however, that regardless of Government action the South in time would free its slaves as a means of self preservation.[5] Undoubtedly he based this opinion upon the mistaken supposition that, if not freed, the slaves would rebel. To a charge that the abolition of Negro slavery would result in miscegenation he replied briefly that "our race has nothing to fear from contact with the lower races of mankind."[6]

The defeat of the McClay Negro Testimony Bill, which proposed giving the testimony of a Negro in the California courts the same weight as that of any other person, drew from Owen the most bitter and caustic editorial criticism. He reproached the legislators for their narrow-mindedness and their inference that because Negro blood flowed in the veins of a witness, that witness was incapable of uttering legal truths.[7]

The editor saw slavery as one of the principal causes for the economic and sociological backwardness of the lower segments of the white population of the South. Slavery, in his opinion, was harmful to both Negro and slaveholder as well as to those whites who were in close contact with the institution, such as the "poor whites."[8]

Lincoln, in September 1862, issued a proclamation which stated that all slaves in the seceded states would be declared free on January 1, 1863, unless the rebels would lay down their arms before that date. Barely three weeks before the deadline Owen wrote: "If it (the Emancipation Proclamation) fails, the Union fails." He emphasized the fact that he meant the union of both the loyal and the seceded segments of the nation.[9]

When the proclamation was issued, Owen asserted that the waning Union hopes would be revived and terror struck in the heart of the rebellion. He predicted that slave uprisings would complicate further the Confederate war effort.[10] The latter hope was never realized. As late as March 1863, Owen suggested that the Federal Government utilize freed slaves to bear the brunt of the war against their former masters. It was his opinion that if they were so used the North would find itself "in a speedy and overwhelming victory embraced within the limits of a few weeks."[11] Just how these

Negroes were to be used was not mentioned. In all, about 200,000 Negroes were enlisted in the Union armies.[12] With a better than average insight into the implications of the proclamation, Owen analyzed the war prior to January 1863 as a struggle for national supremacy between two geographic sections. In light of the proclamation, he viewed the war then as one that had attained the "grandeur and magnitude of a great struggle for human rights."[13] The Emancipation Proclamation was to him both a military necessity and a righteous measure.

Following the proclamation, many argued that the Negro would overrun the North and cause sociological and economic problems. Owen denied this. He thought the Negro would remain where the climate was more congenial and his services more in demand. He, however, did not deny to the Negro the right as a free man to move wherever he pleased. Freedom for the Negro, in his opinion, did not elevate him to social equality with the whites because, "Social equality . . . is a myth even among the white race."[14] Once again he indulged his theory of natural progression when he wrote that for slavery to conquer freedom would be to reverse all known functions of this law.[15] He saw in the separate schools which existed for Negroes in San Jose a "vestige of barbarism," but he advocated no immediate change "in the face of existing prejudices."[16] At about the same time, he insisted that once and for all the word "white" be stricken from the California constitution and that the Negro enjoy "full, free and equal privileges with every citizen of the State."[17]

From the very beginning of the Civil War, ways and means of financing the conflict occupied the minds of the leaders of both North and South. The proposed taxation of incomes above a certain level and the raising of the schedules of various other sources of revenue by the Federal Government induced Owen to suggest that at least a portion of the war expenses could be procured by selling the lands of secessionists "to loyal Union men."[18]

The long anticipated war tax measure was passed by Congress late in 1862. Early in 1863, Owen explained the nature of the bill to his readers and voiced the optimistic opinion that actually more profit would accrue to the nation in better post-war trade relations because of the new tax law. Just how this was to be accomplished was not mentioned. He again declared that the cost of the war ought to be borne by the South alone.[19]

In order to bolster its credit and more adequately sustain the value of the currency in circulation, the Federal Government suspended specie payments on January 1, 1862. Prior to this date, several large banks in the East had done the same thing on their own initiative. Regarding these independent suspensions before the general Government order had been issued, Owen, doubtless to ease the minds of some panicky individuals, wrote that this action was necessary to "enlarge the financial operation of the country" and that the general order for suspension was "not one of necessity, but one of prudence and defense."[20]

One of the several methods by which the Government financed the war was the printing and circulation of bills of various denominations called "greenbacks." These were bills of credit issued against the United States Government. In 1864 nearly three dollars in greenbacks was needed to purchase one dollar in gold. During these uncertain days, Owen was staunch in his support of this Government policy. He pointed out that these bills were absolutely necessary to carry on the war. He called them "money borrowed on the future" and rightly insisted that, if the Union did stand, every dollar's worth of greenbacks would be redeemed at parity value.[21] Redemption was ultimately effected in 1879.

The bill which created the forerunner of our present national banking system was passed by Congress in 1863 and amended in 1864. The system greatly aided in the stabilization of the currency of the North during and after the war. In view of the evils of the historic state banking methods, Owen saw the national banks as the models for future state banks in which bonds of the various states would form a portion of the collateral of these institutions in the same manner as United States Government bonds were to be used in the newly created national banks. He also predicted that the new unified system would serve to strengthen the bonds of unity after the war. In fact he went so far as to state that "the most desirable end (national banks) will overbalance many of the evils of secession and will prove one of the most efficient means of harmonizing the rebellious elements and reconciling the Southern States to their subjugation as equal members of the great national confederacy."[22] Here Owen appears to have advocated acceptance of the rebel states on equal terms after their surrender, an idea which he changed several times during the course of the war.

When the Civil War began, Lincoln, as commander-in-chief of the military forces of the nation, authorized the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* along the lines of march between Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. This area was later extended by Presidential proclamation. Congress authorized that the writ be suspended in July 1863. Some local criticism of Congress must have been immediate, because on July 18 Owen wrote that the action by Congress was justified in view of the fact that in wartime the "civil processes are entirely too sluggish to meet certain emergencies." He added that it was the duty of the President to suppress the rebellion by legal means if possible, but "at any rate to do it." As an afterthought he wrote that it was only the "Peace Democrats" who were continually finding fault with the administration.[23]

Proposals for the post-war reconstruction of the South only briefly occupied the attention of the editor of the *Mercury*. After a little more than a year of war had passed, Owen was of the opinion that the only way to settle decisively the question of the loyalty of the citizens of the South after the war was to keep them surrounded "by barriers of fixed bayonets." He also recommended that they be deprived of power by taking from them their lands and Negroes, because "a traitor has no rights of property."[24]

Almost three years after writing the above, Owen altered his opinion regarding the direction reconstruction should follow. In February 1865, he saw these problems as much more imaginary than real if only statesmen would strive to solve them on the broadest bases of democratic idealism, thereby eliminating the slaveholding, landholding class. He favored a relatively long period of post-war subjugation before the work of reconstruction should actually commence.[25]

III. THE *MERCURY* AND POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The Democratic party had held virtual control of the politics of the nation since the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852. Except for a brief period of "Know Nothing" ascendency from 1855 to 1857, California politics likewise had been dominated by the same party since 1849. The success of the Republican party in the Presidential elections of 1850 presaged a change in national policy which culminated in the Civil War.

Since 1858 the Democrats had been split into two factions over the slavery question. In 1860 they held two separate conventions and separate Presidential candidates were nominated. The Northern and Southern elements named Stephen Arnold Douglas and John Cabell Breckinridge as their respective candidates. The remnants of the old Whig and American parties united under the name of the Constitutional Union party. They nominated John C. Bell, of Tennessee. They were committed to a platform of compromising the slavery question and maintaining the Union as it then was.

The victory of Lincoln in California, as in the nation at large, was won at the expense of a divided Democratic party. Douglas and Breckinridge together received a total of almost 72,000 votes, while the total vote for Lincoln was only slightly over 38,500. The totals for the state, according to Winfield Davis, were: Lincoln, 38,734; Douglas, 38,023; Breckinridge, 33,795, and Bell, 9,136.[1]

The pattern of the vote in San Jose showed that Union sentiment was relatively strong compared to the state as a whole. According to the *Mercury* the official count in San Jose was: Lincoln, 551; Douglas, 377; Breckinridge, 232; and Bell, 31. Breckinridge trailed Douglas by 145 votes, while together the two Democratic candidates received 58 votes more than were cast for Lincoln. Comparison shows that Lincoln received a much larger share of the total vote in San Jose than he did in the state at large. On the other hand, the number of votes cast for Breckinridge was comparatively light.

The annual municipal election was scheduled to be held in San Jose in April 1861. In anticipation of this event, the Republicans of San Jose passed a resolution which demanded that each nominee of the Republican party pledge himself to that party and, if elected, dispense no political patronage upon anyone who was not a Republican.[2] Local Democrats probably passed a similar resolution.

Although local Democrats had failed to see eye to eye regarding their two Presidential candidates, nevertheless, by April they united to elect their members to municipal offices. In the elections of that month, "Sham Democracy," according to the *Mercury*, received 306 votes as against 236 for the Republicans.[3] Shortly after this Republican defeat, Owen resolutely proclaimed concerning the *Mercury*: "We intend that it shall be an efficient [Republican] party organ."[4]

The national losses of the Democratic party did not daunt its leaders. They pointed to the coming fall elections with confidence. The Placerville *Times* saw the prospects of the Democratic party as "brighter...than they have been for a year past."[5] The Republicans for their part desired a sweeping victory because they were convinced that the Democrats in Sacramento were either outright secessionists or advocates of a peace policy.[6]

Shortly after the Democratic schism of 1860, a national movement was begun to unite the followers of Douglas with the Republicans. This coalition was to be known as the Union party. Owen at first was not in favor of such a union on the grounds that its "elements were too inharmonious and too sluggish."[7] No further attempt was made to unite the two groups in San Jose that year.

Before the end of the first week of June 1861, the Republicans of Santa Clara County elected forty-eight delegates to a convention which was to be held in San Jose on the fifteenth. With one vote to each delegate, San Jose and Santa Clara together accounted for twenty of the total of forty-eight votes.[8] On the eve of this convention, Owen charged that the Democratic party was chiefly responsible for the war.[9]

The county meeting was held as scheduled. Santa Clara County Republicans passed resolutions to support the national administration in the war effort and then added that all other issues should be subordinated thereto. They further declared that the Republican party was the only real Union party and thus further disqualified any other attempts to unite with the Douglas Democrats at that time. At the same time, however, they invited the coöperation "of all men who are in favor of sustaining the Administration in its efforts to preserve the Union and enforce its laws." Leland Stanford was endorsed by the convention as its choice for governor.[10] This was a most crucial election for the Republicans of California because it was to be contested with a firmly entrenched Democratic group headed by the incumbent governor, John Downey.

Owen sought adherents from the ranks of the Douglas Democrats, using as his argument the fact that the Democratic party was divided against itself and that their party leaders had injured the reputation of the party beyond recovery.[11] Not many Democrats, however, appear to have joined the Republicans in San Jose at this time. On the contrary, their dual elements seem to have been drawn somewhat closer together. Owen mentioned some evidences of fusion in the Democratic state nominations. He bitterly denounced the Douglas Democrats in this connection, in an editorial which appeared in the July 25 issue of the *Mercury*, taking them to task for assuming to be with the Republicans in sentiment and at the same time striving to maintain their identity as Democrats.[12]

The Douglas Democrats answered these charges by calling a mass meeting of all local Democrats who were opposed to fusing with the secessionists.[13]

The editor of the San Jose *Tribune* held out very little hope for the Republicans in the pending state election.[14] Owen, for his part, saw all the issues and platforms of the various parties boiled down to the fact that the only question before California was whether or not the war policy of the Administration would be wholeheartedly supported.[15]

The elections were held on September 4. The *Mercury* announced the results on the twelfth. Owen estimated Stanford's county majority over the Douglas Democrat, John Conness, and the "Compromise" Democrat, John R. McConnell, as "about 570." The Santa Clara County tabulation was as follows: Stanford, 756; Conness, 113; and McConnell, 357. These are Owen's figures, which apparently are wrong because his own figures indicate Stanford's majority as only 386.[16] It is interesting to note that the county Democrats voted about three to one in favor of the Compromise Democratic candidate, McConnell, over Conness. This is indicative of the relatively large number of secessionist sympathizers in and about San Jose. A total of 1,195 votes were cast in San Jose. The *Mercury* gave the total for the state as: Stanford, 56,038; Conness, 30,944; and McConnell, 32,751.[17] Davis verifies the report of the *Mercury*.[18] The state Democrats, it will be noticed, slightly favored McConnell over Conness.

Owen viewed the election results as fortunate and stated that had the Republicans not gained a victory, California would have been in serious economic difficulties because "Capitalists became frightened...for all their wealth was at stake." He accused the previous Democratic administrations of overtaxing the people of California.[19]

George O'Daugherty, the editor of the *Tribune*, in reference to the split in the Democratic vote, wrote that he hoped this election would prove "to be a never to be forgotten lesson to the Democrats of California."[20]

The Democrats gained minor successes in the Congressional elections of 1862. Owen rationalized these gains by writing that the Democratic party in the East was intensely loyal, which was not the case in California. As a consequence this would not, according to Owen, affect the war policies of the Administration. He went on to say, however, that the national Democratic victories were proof that the Republicans had enlisted in the Union armies to do the fighting while the Democrats had remained at home to do the voting.[21] O'Daugherty perceived these election results as indicating a change in public sentiment in favor of compromising the issues involved in the war.[22]

The Democratic party had held the same tight grip on the municipal affairs of San Jose as it had on those of the state prior to Stanford's election, having been in complete control since 1850. The municipal election was due to be held in April 1862. In the preceding February, Owen had again condemned the move of certain Republicans to join with the Union (formerly Douglas) Democrats because, in Owen's words, the Democrats professed to "see eye to eye with the Republicans" but "oppose every question of state policy."[23] In view of the forthcoming municipal elections, however, he favored a temporary coalition, which was promptly turned down by the local Republican organization. As a result, Owen reported that the Republican party would form no "compromising alliance for the purpose of carrying the municipal elections."[24] After being turned down by the Republicans, the Union Democrats of San Jose appear to have united with the Breckinridge group in a so-called "Peoples party." As a consequence, the incumbent Democratic mayor, Asa Johnson, was reëlected.

Milton S. Latham, United States senator from California, had been elected to that office on January 11, 1862, after he had served only three months as governor of the state. His was the task of filling the unexpired term of David C. Broderick, who had been slain by Chief Justice David S. Terry in a duel now famous in California annals. Latham, in 1862, was campaigning for reëlection to the Senate. In connection with this effort, he made several speeches seeking to justify the action of the Administration in contesting the right of the South to secede, but, at the same time, he vigorously opposed any action toward emancipation. He also bitterly attacked the Republicans for their support of the movement. Consequently, Owen expressed the hope that the new legislature would "elect a Senator in place of Milton Latham." Owen accused Latham of misrepresenting California in the Senate of the United States.[25] Latham of course was a Democrat, which on ordinary grounds was reason enough for an attack by Owen. Latham was replaced by John Conness, who, it will be recalled, had been defeated for governor by Leland Stanford in the election of 1861.

The spring of 1863 saw the Republicans and the Union Democrats finally uniting to defeat the incumbent city administration. Only 819 votes were cast, as compared with the more than 1200 in 1861. Most of the electorate were looking toward the gubernatorial elections to be held in the coming fall.[26]

Republicans and Administration Democrats met in Sacramento on June 17 and nominated Frederick F. Low as their candidate for governor. "Copperhead" and compromise Democrats likewise met in Sacramento on July 8 and there chose for their nominee the former governor, John G. Downey.

Owen was of the opinion that a Republican governor was essential at this time in order to preserve peace in California. He feared a civil war such as that which had been waged in Kansas, in the event Downey was elected. He also feared, that should the Copperhead and compromise Democrats carry the election, California would become a Confederate recruiting ground and San Francisco a port for the fitting out of Confederate privateers.[27] Suffice it to say, the Republicans won the election by a majority of almost twenty thousand.[28]

Early in 1864 candidates for the November Presidential election were already being considered. Owen was in favor of retaining Lincoln in office. Attempts on the parts of some Republicans to gain the nomination of John C. Frémont received no support from Owen. Frémont was characterized by the editor as an ambitious demagogue. Nevertheless, insurgent Republicans and a few Democrats met in their own convention in Cleveland, Ohio, on the last day of May 1864, and nominated Frémont. Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were nominated in a "Union" party convention at Baltimore, Maryland, on June 7, 1864; and General George B. McClellan of peninsular campaign fame was the choice of the Democrats in convention at Chicago.

Owen, having dismissed Frémont in a few brusk words, proceeded to vent his editorial spleen upon McClellan. He bitterly accused him of striving for an immediate end of hostilities with the South and the subsequent recognition of the independence of the Confederacy by the Federal Government.[29] He further took him to task for not resigning his commission of a United States Army major general. This McClellan did on election day, November 8, 1864.

On June 16, the *Mercury* reported that on the previous Tuesday evening (June 14) a theater "was densely packed...with loyal citizens of Santa Clara County for the purpose of ratifying the nominations of the Baltimore Convention."[30] The consequences of the renomination of Lincoln were to Owen evidence that the people of the North were determined to sustain the policies of the Administration and to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion.[31] Union clubs, which had been in existence in Santa Clara County since 1861, now became vigorous sponsors of the candidacies of Lincoln and Johnson.

San Jose voted two to one for Lincoln. An incomplete count by the *Mercury* gave the vote in San Jose as 819 for Lincoln and 410 for McClellan.

The balloting in the county, also incomplete, was reported to have been 1,924 for Lincoln and 1,176 for McClellan.[32]. In the election of 1864, the total vote in San Jose was more than 1,800 as against approximately 1,000 in the campaign of 1860. Soon after the election excitement had died down somewhat, Owen proudly asserted that San Jose was the "third city in the State in point of voting population."[33]

(To be continued)

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Eugene T. Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara County, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1922), pp. 108-9.
2. Information from Mr. Clyde Arbuckle, of San Jose, California.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. San Jose *Mercury*, October 4, 1861.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1861.
4. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1862.
5. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1862.
6. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1862.
7. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1862.
8. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1861.
9. *Ibid.*, December 18, 1862.
10. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1863.
11. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1863.
12. Julian Hawthorne, *United States* (New York, 1900), III, 1006.
13. San Jose *Mercury*, July 30, 1863.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1864.
16. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1865.
17. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1865.
18. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1862.
19. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1863.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1864.
22. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1864.
23. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1863.
24. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1862.
25. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1865.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 127.
2. San Jose *Mercury*, March 13, 1861.
3. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1861.
4. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1861.
5. Quoted in *ibid.*, May 2, 1861.
6. Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861* (Boston, 1916) p. 218.
7. San Jose *Mercury*, May 9, 1861.
8. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1861.

9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1861.
11. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1861.
12. San Jose *Mercury*, July 25, 1861.
13. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1861.
14. Quoted in *ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1861.
17. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1861.
18. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
19. San Jose *Mercury*, September 12, 1861.
20. Quoted in *ibid.*, November 9, 1861.
21. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1861.
22. Quoted in *ibid.*, November 9, 1861.
23. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1862.
24. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1862.
25. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1862.
26. Frederick Hall, *History of San Jose and Surroundings* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 287.
27. San Jose *Mercury*, August 27, 1863.
28. Davis, *op cit.*, p. 201.
29. San Jose *Mercury*, September 22, 1864.
30. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1864.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1864.
33. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1864.

Letters of an Artist in the Gold Rush

Edited by FRANK MERRIMAN STANGER

THE name of William H. Dougal deserves greater recognition in this state than it has hitherto received. This statement is ventured in spite of the fact that Dougal was in California only a year, and was never a California enthusiast. San Francisco fascinated him, but too prominent in his mind were the primitive city's mud, wind, and dust; and California's most potent charms could never quite overcome the pull of family, fiancee, and good business prospects back home.

But his year in California was packed with activity, and some of the expressions of his versatile talents are only now coming to light.

An engraver by profession, he made a series of lithographs of scenes along the Sacramento River which were published after his return to the East in Ringgold's *Series of Charts with Sailing Directions.*[1] Because of these lithographs he is mentioned (with some erroneous statements) in Peters' *California on Stone.*[2]

Dougal's most interesting work, however, consists of the letters printed here and pencil sketches made in and while en route to and from California. The sketches are of value not only because of their artistic excellence but more especially, from the historian's point of view, because of their faithfulness to minute detail.

William Dougal was born in 1822 in New Haven, Connecticut. He was educated in the local Lancastrian school, and was afterward apprenticed to Sherman and Smith, prominent map engravers of that time in New York City. In his early twenties he established an office in Washington, D. C., and began doing engraving on contract for the United States Government and for various bank note companies. It was here and in this profession that most of his adult life was spent. Examples of his work are to be found in important government publications of his time, as well as in other books that feature especially fine engraving on copper and steel.

The California gold rush drew him away temporarily, but he was not of the type who "rushed" hysterically, for along with his artistic talents he had an eye to business. In the spring of 1849, with some "associates," among whom he appears to have been the principal entrepreneur, he purchased the barque *Galindo,* loaded her with an assortment of drugs, hardware, provisions, etc., and set sail with some ninety prospective gold miners for California.[3]

The log which he kept of the seven-months voyage[4] shows it to have been uneventful, except for severe cold and storms while rounding the Horn and the stops in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Valparaiso, Chile. His artistic pencil was inspired while en route by a scene aboard the *Galindo*, by marine life in the Gulf Stream, by the mountains of the Cape Verde Islands, and by the exotic scenery in and around Rio de Janeiro. His shrewd business sense is further shown by his purchase of flour in Chile, with his last remaining funds, for sale in San Francisco.

Arriving in San Francisco, on November 22, 1849, he did not, as most men did, go immediately to the gold fields. He seems to have been very little interested in mining, for he did not visit the diggings until shortly before leaving for home, and he went then more as a tourist than as a miner. Instead, with one James Graves, he set himself up in the livery and grocery business in San Francisco, at the corner of Kearny and Bush Streets (or Kearny and Pine).[5]

After selling his business, early in July 1850, to occupy his energies while waiting to leave for home, he took a contract to grade Stockton Street. His business acumen is attested by the fact that, with a forest of idle ships in San Francisco harbor, he was able to sell the *Galindo*.

The livery stable proprietor and grading contractor was also an artist, and fortunately he found time to exercise his artistic talent. His work includes a detailed pencil sketch of Mission Dolores, and a companion picture drawn from the top of a hill overlooking the Mission District with a vista including the entire area that is now down-town San Francisco. There are also five sketches of scenes down the Peninsula, showing the Sanchez home on Rancho Buri Buri, the adobe mission outpost on San Mateo Creek, Charles Brown's house at Woodside, and two other scenes on the road to San Jose. The scenes along the Sacramento River have already been mentioned. One picture in this series is titled "San Francisco from Yerba Buena [Island]."

Most striking of all the sketches is a panoramic view of San Francisco drawn from the top of Nob Hill, near the site of the Mark Hopkins Hotel, which takes in all the city from Rincon Point to North Beach. Here, with a true engraver's passion for detail, Mr. Dougal set down the outlines of each individual building in the city and each one of the mass of ships in the harbor. The drawing was made sometime in 1850, apparently either before the fires of that year had done their devastating work or after the damage had been repaired.

Having profited in both money and experience, but still advising his friend in the East to stay at home, he set sail early in November 1850, hoping to be home by Christmas. His return was by way of Panama, and the picturesque scenes at Acapulco, Mexico, and at Chagres on the Isthmus of Panama, inspired some of his best artistic talent.

The California trip for him was only an episode, but for us he left, perhaps unconsciously, an important contribution to the history of the West. The California sketches remained hidden in his portfolio until after his death in 1895. Since then they have been carefully preserved by his son, who lives in Washington, D. C., and through whose generosity the drawings have now been acquired by the San Mateo County Historical Association. They are kept in the Association's Museum at San Mateo Junior College.

The original letters written by William H. Dougal in 1849 and 1850 are still in the possession of members of the Dougal family, in Washington, D. C. The following text is taken from copies made by the family, but never heretofore published. Only items of a purely personal nature have been omitted.

The person addressed as "Dear V" was Mary Virginia Adler of Georgetown, D. C. (now a part of the city of Washington), who in 1851 became Mrs. Dougal. "Dear J" was John Mansfield, a banker of New Haven Connecticut, and a lifelong friend. "Dear S" was Dougal's sister.

THE LETTERS

At Sea, June 1st, 1849.

Dear Mother,

We are now within a few days sail of Rio Janeiro, and I commence my writing now in order that I may have all my time there at liberty to look about,... Now, I am going to tell you how we manage and what we have to eat. I shall have no old clothes to bother me after this voyage, certain. As soon as I came on board I laid out 2 flannel shirts, 2 flannel drawers, 2 hickory shirts and the old "blue breetches"; this stock I conclude will last me the voyage, and first rate they will be too. I don't know what I should have done without the little bag of needles and thread you fitted out for me, for I came off in such a hurry that I should have forgotten to take any. Well now about our living, on board ship. The provisions are all dealt out on certain days of the week, one week the same as another, so we always know what we are going to have for dinner; we have our Bean day, our Pea day, mush day, etc., etc. On Sunday we have for breakfast, say boiled Indian Pudding or corn bread, with a meat stew, perhaps, or cold meat, Coffee, Butter, Molasses etc.; for dinner we have boiled corn Beef, corned Pork, and what we call Duff, which is a great dish with us. It is nothing more or less than a wheat flour Pudding, boiled, with a few dried apples or raisins to flavor it; this is made light, and with plenty of Butter over it. You can imagine how I stow it away; it will be a mercy if I don't burst before I get through this voyage. Well, for supper we have sometimes hot rolls or corn bread, or broiled herring, with meat, tea, bread, butter, etc. On Monday we have for dinner, Bean Soup, baked pork and Beans, corn Beef, and Tapioca pudding or Apple Pie; on Tuesday, Pea Soup, boiled Pork and Peas, with some pudding to top off with; on Wednesday we have perhaps a meat Stew and boiled rice and molasses which you know is another favorite dish of mine; Thursday is Duff day again, Saturday is Mackarel or Codfish day, and so we live with slight variation from week to week. The substantial for dinner is invariably the same, so that if I am bothered to know the day of the week I have only to say to myself we had boiled rice yesterday, and duff to day for dinner, so it must be Thursday. If you call this hardship or hard fare then I am no judge. The Capt. and myself are great friends, he is about forty years of age, a man of family, a strict temperance man, an odd fellow and a gentleman and I should also add a Christian, so you see I am in good company. All our officers are gentlemen and pleasant companions. We have about 90 men in all on board, and of this number of course some few are bad, but the majority are fine men, and pleasant times we have these bright moonlight evenings; we have 4 or 5 musicians among us besides some good singers, so we have dancing balls and concerts, and on Sunday which is always strictly observed, the day being passed in reading, towards night we gather on the quarter deck, get out the Psalm Books, and the way we do sing Old Hundred, Windham, Antioch, and all the other good old tunes is a caution; sometimes we will take the Bible and read aloud for the rest. We have lots of Bibles aboard, a package being given us by the New York Bible Society before we sailed. On week days I pass the time in drawing, Painting, studying, reading, etc., I am a great favorite with all hands. They fish up sea weed for me upon which we find all sorts of queer shells and little animals and I make paintings of them, so you see I am improving my time and shall have lots of things to show you when I come back, besides plenty of long yarns, for I keep a journal of everything aboard. We have seen Whales and Grampus's, Sharks, and Porpoises, Water Spouts and all sorts of wonders to be seen at sea. I am well satisfied that although this may be somewhat the longest route to California, it is the most certain, safe, and pleasant one, the least hardship to be endured. In fact, no hardship at all have we seen yet, and one third of our voyage is accomplished.

Yours affectionately,
W.

At Sea, June 1st, 1849

Dear S.

I expect you will hear of us or our vessel before you get any letter, for there are at this moment 5 sails in sight, one is coming directly toward us, has hoisted the American flag and made signal to speak us, so I must go on deck and see them and hear what they have to say. It is unusual to see so many sails at one time at sea, but as we are near the harbor of Rio they have probably all sailed from there, some homeward bound, some for Europe. We have been as long as three weeks without seeing a sail, or anything except the sea around us, and now and then some Whales and Porpoises, but there are so many of us that we form a little world or community by ourselves.

3 O'Clock. We have just spoken a vessel bound to N. Y. so they will report us and I suppose you will hear of it; they came very close to us and as the wind was light we had quite a confab. The way vessels speak each other may

be interesting: The Capt. takes his speaking trumpet and sings out, "Where are you bound?" "California," we reply; "What's your latitude?" "21.15;" "What's your longitude?" "40.07." Then we ask him "Where are you bound?" "New York." "What's your latitude and longitude?" Then he tells us any news he may think interesting to us; among the rest he says, "I have got three Californians aboard, sick of the voyage, going home." "We'll take 'em back if they'll come aboard." "Won't do it," says they. "Had enough of it." Then they commenced throwing Oranges aboard and for a few minutes there was a perfect shower of them. A few more jokes passed, we told them to report us in New York all well, gave them 6 cheers which they returned, and we parted each on his course. You have no idea what an excitement and sensation the cry of "Sail ho!" creates on board a vessel. The idea that perhaps she is homeward bound and will speak us and convey intelligence of our welfare to friends at home keeps all hands on the tiptoe of expectation until she is out of sight and all ends in disappointment and we keep a bright lookout for the next one. Well in a few days we shall probably be in the land of Oranges and Pineapples, Lemons and Figs, and we anticipate a grand treat there after being at sea so long. We shall see some of those Spanish and Portuguese Senoritas about whom we read so much in the novels. Why I am almost a Spanish don already, only hear me sputter Spanish: *Buenos dias, Señor, hace Caliente, mucho hambre, usted denos alguna cosa a comer.* That will do I think; it is sufficient to prove my ability to graduate as a Spanish Don. Only think of it, Don Dougal. It don't sound quite right though does it? Well, to return to the vessel, I wish you could be aboard for a few days just to see how we live and how the poor devils manage. I have given you a good idea of how we live in the cabin, but you should see the groups or messes scattered all over the vessel eating their grub, some squatted on the deck, "a la Turk" with tinpans of molasses and mush, and tincups of Coffee, as happy as lords some of them, others growling because another mess has got more molasses on their mush, and all sorts of jokes and skylarking going on, and then after supper to hear our concerts and see our Cotillions and breakdowns on the deck, I tell you it is rich. We have some funny and queer characters aboard, and after supper of an evening if we don't feel like dancing or skylarking we gather in little knots about deck and spin yarns and peal after peal of laughter attests the good humor and enjoyment of all hands. Our first mate is a queer character, an old Whaleman from Nantucket, and we cluster round him of an evening and listen to his wonderful adventures and hairbreadth escapes, and the old man being a great talker likes nothing better than to spin yarns by the hour, and like the "old Veteran" to fight his battles over again. The Capt. and myself build some famous castles in the air, while sitting on the quarter deck with our pipes in mouth; we lay out our fine farms and country seats in great style, and laugh over them afterwards. Well, heaven speed the time when we may realize these bright visions.

Affectionately yours,
W.

San Francisco, Nov. 27, 1849.

Dear V.

Your very, very welcome letters are at last received, and I have at last the pleasure of writing to you and all my friends from this famous place. We arrived on the 22nd, have now been here 5 days. The first move I made on stepping ashore was for the post office, drawing as straight a line for it as the mud would let me; there I found quite a pile of letters awaiting me. I seated myself deliberately on a carpenter's bench in the street a short distance from the office and, spreading them all out before me, examined the post marks of each and asked myself the question, which shall be first? *Georgetown* was decided upon...

We arrived at Rio safely; from there I wrote to you... We left that port to encounter the dangers of Cape Horn. Your fears were well founded I assure you. All went well until we arrived off the La Plata River, the region of storms. On the night of the 25th of June we had a terrible storm. I stood upon the deck and watched the elements in their sport, their jubilee as it were. Such thunder and lightning I never saw or heard before; the sea running mountains high, the lightning playing around us and the constant cracking of the thunder were awful. In the intervals of darkness, almost tangible, we could see aloft dancing from mast head and from yard to yard, balls of fire, (corposants [or St. Elmo's fire] they are termed) about which sailors are very superstitious. I looked on all this and enjoyed it, why it was I know not, I felt no fear. Many a poor frightened sinner prayed that night, and not one but vowed all the gold in California should not tempt him to again encounter such a risk. 'Twas all over in 24 hours, and no accident happened to the vessel, though one of the passengers was thrown against the bulwarks and had his collar bone broken, our physician made that all right. Now commenced a succession of snow storms and squalls which we had almost daily for 2 long months. On the 25th of August we passed Staten land. We were blown back three times after passing Cape Horn, but with true Yankee perseverance we "tried it again." We had heavy gales lasting 8 days some of them, during which time no sail could be carried on the vessel, and she would be covered with ice from deck to mast head. Three times we expected to go down, and on one occasion prepared axes and hatchets to cut away the mast; each one stood ready, with hatchet in hand waiting but for a word from the officer to send all over the side, but a kind Providence preserved us, not from any surplus amount of piety we had on board, for a more wicked and profane set of men I have never met with. I am giving you a very brief account of all this, but as soon as I can get settled on shore

I shall send you a full description. We arrived safe atValparaiso Sept. 16. We were very fortunate in this, for on the 17th commenced the grand festival of the "Dias Ocho," the celebration of Chilean independence. We were thus enabled to see more of the people and their customs than we would at ordinary times, all the Natives from the country thronging into the city with "best bib and tucker" to join in the festival. It continued one week or longer and during this time nearly all business is suspended. Horse racing, Bull fights, Masquerades and Fandangos are the order of the day. I attended a "Grande Bal Masquerade a la Grande Teatro," in full costume too. My dress was a red cap, black mask, crimson shirt over a fancy white and pink one, white pants with crimson sash around my waist, white kids, and the self same patent leather gaiters which flourished at the grand ball in Washington. If you had but seen me in this costume I am certain you would have fallen in love with me at once, even if you had never seen me before. I knew that many of our Company intended going to this ball as spectators, so I kept it a secret as to my mask from all but one or two. Now, if I begin to tell you of all the jokes I played on them there, of the fun and adventures I had, t'would fill this sheet 7 times, and I have so much besides to talk with you and tell you, so I will cut it short. The whole affair was like the carnival at Venice. Many times I wished you were there to enjoy all this with me, so you see you were not forgotten; I could write you a small volume on what we saw and what befel me in Valparaiso. I will tell you of one adventure: I always went armed with a pistol when I went off alone which I did often, taking many excursions into the country a short distance. On one occasion I was obliged to stop at a small "Rancho" for lodgings, in the suburbs of the city. I was shown into a small room, in fact there was but one room in the house, and one bed. In the corner was a stout Chilean stretched upon a bench, apparently fast asleep, wrapped up closely in his "Sarape." Knowing their treacherous character I simply threw myself upon the bed prepared for anything which might occur, placing my pistol under my pillow. Being very much fatigued I was soon in the land of dreams, how long I had been sleeping I know not, but I was awakened by something touching my foot. It was a very slight touch, but I was wide awake in an instant. I made no motion or noise, but quietly drew my pistol. It was total darkness, for they have no windows in these small houses. Soon I felt the touch again and then found this Chilean was feeling along carefully so as to find my pockets. I lay motionless, waiting the result, knowing that they never use their knifes until obliged to, or in a quarrel. He felt quietly along until he found my coat pocket, and just as he was introducing his finger in the most insinuating manner possible, I struck his hand away with a sweeping blow and lay quiet, holding my pistol in my left hand; all was silent for a few moments and I then heard him move back to his corner and stretch himself on the bench. Not a word had been spoken by either of us. It was total darkness and silence, so silent that I could hear my heart beat. I thought a moment as to the course I should pursue, and then, still holding my pistol in readiness, arose, walked to the door, unlocked it and stepped out into the bright moonlight, closed the door after me and walked off. What do you think of this? Isn't this romance enough to satisfy any man? I certainly am a hero now, although I am not certain as to whether heroes do exactly right in walking off without paying for their lodging. Under the circumstances however it might be excused.

Now we will leave Valparaiso. We set sail on the 3rd of October and after a beautiful passage of only 50 days arrived here. The mud [is] knee deep, some places absolutely impassable; the weather has been pleasant for the past few days but now the rain is pouring in torrents and may do so for weeks without cessation. It is the vilest place I ever set foot in, yet there are 30,000 people here ashore and four vessels arriving daily. It is very sickly, hardly one escaping an attack of Dysentery or Fever. There are not houses sufficient for the immense number who are here, and the main part are living in tents. I am at present living on board the Barque, but have come ashore to night in order to finish my letters. I have a great many to write and fear that I shall have to be short with all of them except yours of course, for the mail closes in a day or so. I am at this moment in a large frame building on the water side belonging to a friend from New Haven engaged in the shipping business; the building is 60 by 100 feet and rents for $2500 per month. I have a red Indian blanket to wrap around me and a soft pine plank for a bed; 'tis not only past the witching hour, but nearly 2 o'clock. I must dispense with poetry in closing for nothing around me is very suggestive of poetical ideas; I fear you would weep for me could you survey the scene.

Sincerely yours,
W.H.D.

San Fran., Nov. 28, 1849.

Dear J.

Here I am at last, safe sound and hearty, seated in Charley F. Hotchkiss' store[6] on the water side in San Francisco. We arrived on the 22d, lost no one on the voyage, all well and hearty. Of the events of the voyage I will say very little in this letter, reserving a full description thereof for a future letter. I will simply say that Cape Horn is all it is represented; 17 vessels would not tempt me to go through again what we have suffered. We saw the elephant for the first time off the La Plata River and had him in full view until we got into the Pacific, a period of two months, during which time we suffered inconceivably. The ship was at times a complete mass of ice from deck to masthead and three different times we thought ourselves booked for "Davy Jones' Locker." However we managed to live through it, and arrived safe at Valparaiso. I remained there over two weeks recruiting. We were fortunate in the time of our arrival, the 16 Sept., for on the 17th commenced the Grand National Festival of "Dias Ocho" (8 days) in celebration of Chilean Independence during which period the people give up all business and have a perfect carnival, Masquerades, Horseracing, Fandangos, and Bullfights being the order of the day. Well, thereby hangs a long tale about our doings and adventures which I must reserve, I have so much else to tell you. We left there on 3d October, had a beautiful passage of 50 days to this port. All I can say is, if some of the Boys don't see the Elephant *here* before they leave, I am very much mistaken, a twin brother of the one seen off the Horn. There is plenty of gold, ay, heaps of it (on the gambling tables), but those who get it earn it, not only on the passage here, but after they get here. A man without capital must dig for it, he may get a fortune, he may only pay expenses, it is much of a lottery, although I have heard of few who have not done well. I can tell you nothing new about mining, you have the whole story home. I have committed the mistake which thousands of others have, in leaving my capital home. True I have my claim on the Bank, but the bond is not due under three months, and meanwhile I must wait patiently though every hour I see a chance slip through my fingers. A man with five thousand dollars can make a fortune here in a year, at least such a fortune as I want; and I would agree to come home in that time if I had that sum in my pocket at this moment. I left N.Y. with only $250 in my pocket, invested that in flour while in Valparaiso and landed here with two dimes in my pocket; sold my flour today and put $500 in my pocket clear of all expenses. I have written to Chubbs for funds, if he has any of mine left, and hope I shall receive some remittances; if so, shall invest in real estate. Not *one* man who has invested in real estate but he has made his thousands. John, there never was and probably never will be such a chance as there is here for acquiring a fortune, but everything is in proportion: flour $30 a barrel, eggs $1 each, cabbage $15 per head, potatoes 50c a pound; rents are enormous, indeed they are rather out of proportion; any sort of a room large enough to place a bed in costs $100 a month; C. F. Hotchkiss pays for his store, a three story rough frame building, built upon piles, $31,800 per annum; carpenters are earning from $12 to $16 per day, and some of our boys are now at work storing coal on board the steamer at $1.50 per hour. Yet with all this, many, very many are returning home broken down in health and spirits. As for myself, I am as independent as possible, plenty to eat and a good home on board the Barque and weigh 20 lbs. heavier than when I left home. I may be idle for 3 months, but I don't care a fig. I shall visit the mines next season if it is to stay only a week or so. Nearly all the boys are up the river at Sacramento City or in the mines, Frank and Dan Phillips, . . . with many others. John Atwater is here with Cook Baker & Co.,[7] Leonard Hotchkiss[8] is with Charles at the store, also the two boys . . . Web and Walt Thompson are both dead. It is very sickly, scarcely any escaping an attack of

Dysentery. The rainy season set in early, a short time previous to our arrival; the mud is knee deep and in some places the streets absolutely impassable; we are consequently obliged to wear wading boots, said boots costing only $75 the pair. We had very fine weather for a few days but do not expect it will last long. Met Ed Barber the other day, he is well and hearty, don't know whether he will be able to dig much gold on evangelical principles; it isn't the way others dig it anyhow, as you would admit if you could see the gambling table. That Parker house is "the place" in San Francisco; if there is another place like it in the world I would like to see it. Stay at home, John, is my sincere advice to all who do not consider Gold paramount, for a man has to live like a dog here. No one possessing *any* energy can fail to make money, still, nevertheless, notwithstanding—do not suppose from this that I regret having taken this step, or feel discouraged or disheartened in the slightest. I do not regret it and never shall and would not recall the past eight months if I could, for I have seen and learned much...

Ever yours
W.H.D.

San Francisco, June 17, 1850.

Dear V.

No change has taken place in my business since writing you last. I am now endeavoring to sell out, if I can do so without too great sacrifice, shall then mount a good horse and visit the mines going to Stockton and Sacramento City, and then the prodigal will return home, not as badly off I hope as a certain prodigal we read of in the Good Book. I returned a few days since from "Pueblo de San Jose" the seat of government, a most beautiful place, and if you like you shall take the ride with me. After an early dinner we mount two of my best horses and in company with an agreeable friend commence our long ride, leaving behind us the City of San Francisco, famous for wind and dust. We slowly ride until we reach the Mission de Dolores, distant three miles, of which you have heard before, and now commences a beautiful, smooth hard road, and we push our good horses into a brisk gallop, for 'tis four o'clock and we have thirty-five good miles to pass over before we reach our stopping place for the night. On we go over hill and through pretty valleys filled with troops of horses and herds of cattle, now and then meeting a party of Mexicans with their droves of pack mules, jogging patiently along chatting together and smoking their eternal cigaritos. The country is almost destitute of any kind of timber and nothing meets the eye save immense level plains and lofty smooth swelling Hills; and now we come to Sanchez Ranch,[9] distant eighteen miles from San Francisco, and after giving our horses a taste of the clear brook which ripples across the road we push on for the Mission of Saint Mathews,[10] five miles farther; and now the face of the country is changed, we are beyond the influence of the chilling coast wind which renders San Francisco so unpleasant, the air is mild and balmy, and in place of barren hills and plains we ride through groves of beautiful and splendid oaks, the road is level as a house floor, and as the setting sun throws the long shadows athwart our path and every turn discloses a new scene of beauty, we can imagine ourselves in fairyland. As we dash along through the oak openings, the turtle doves fill the groves, and countless numbers of squirrels can be seen frolicing about. Here we are at the Mission. We dismount for a few minutes to take some refreshment and let our horses breathe. The (I blush a little) Milk Punch[11] was excellent; and now we are off again, cross a deep gulch with a fine stream of water running through it, and after a ride of three miles through the Oaks we strike out upon a level plain without tree or bush for five miles. After this we come to more oaks and the whole country covered with wild oats and looking like an immense Harvest field. Soon we come to Angelo's Ranch[12] situated in the midst of this beautiful country distant from Saint Matthews 12 miles. We alight for a time, but this is not our stopping place, "still must we on" although feeling marvelous stiff, in the joints, twelve miles farther to Wistman Ranch.[13] The sun is down, darkness comes on apace, and we push our horses still farther, for the grizzly bears are numerous in this neighborhood and an encounter with them is not to be courted. We have a revolver each and hold them in readiness. We have no moon to guide us by its silvery light and tis now too dark to distinguish the road. We have left the oaks and now come to an open country; trusting to our horses to keep the road, we give them the rein and dash forward into the seemingly dark void. We now hear the bellowing of a herd of wild cattle and before we know it are in the midst of them. Luckily we were not attacked by any of them and after losing the road two or three times came across an Indian Camp and by dint of the little Spanish I could talk ascertained that we were within a half a mile of Wistman's Ranch. We soon arrived there and received a hearty welcome, gave our horses in charge of the Indian boy to stake them out in the rich grass and sat down to a good supper looking more like home than any thing we have seen yet. Our host is a true Yankee, and his wife and three or four noisy children transported us back to Yankeeland. I can assure you we were very glad to retire to bed after a ride of 42 miles in 6 hours, and slept soundly. I was up by sunrise, a more beautiful morning the sun never shone upon. The front of the house commands a view of the bay and "Contra Costa" with the distant peaks of the Sierra Nevada;[14] the ground back of the house is covered with a heavy growth of trees and fields of wild mustard. After a good breakfast, fine butter churned this morning being the greatest luxury, we saddled our nags and started for Pueblo distant only 12 miles. I should never wish to live in a more beautiful country than this we are riding through this morning; it has given me a different opinion of California, and if I were going to remain in California should leave the sand hills of San Francisco very quickly. We ride on through oaks and fields of wild mustard until we reach the Mission of Santa Clara within three miles of the city. It is a pretty place, a church built in the old Spanish style with most grim looking saints pictured on the walls and some very nice adobe houses, with a sprinkling of Yankee cottages. Groups of Mexicans and Indians are lounging about basking in the sunshine; the only moving active thing is our little party as we canter gaily through the village. But I fear this long ride will weary you, so we will make haste to Pueblo. Our party is increased in number to about twenty and we make quite an appearance as we come clattering up the wide and pleasant streets of Pueblo. The place seems almost deserted for this is the day of the grand race for ten thousand dollars, and all the population have gone to the race course. Upon arriving there we found some two or three thousand, mostly Mexicans in all variety of the Spanish costumes. The races over, we adjourn to the mansion house, a fine hotel, board only $8 per day; after dinner we took a ride about town and passed the evening pleasantly. The Pueblo is very pleasantly situated, the streets spacious and level, the buildings mostly in the Spanish style and the country round about, beautiful. I could be well contented to live there provided you were with me; it surpasses Georgetown. I was detained a day by some business, and at noon of the third day we mounted and left for home, reached Wistman's Ranch at three P. M., had a good dinner and rode on as far as Angelo's where we passed the night. We arrived at home at noon well pleased with our journey...We should think it terrible at home to start out on a ride of 50 or 60 miles on horseback, but here it is nothing. But let us talk of other matters. Our city has within a few days been visited by another large fire,[15] if anything more destructive than either of the preceding, and Mr. K.[16] has for the third time been burnt out; fortunately I am too far out of town to apprehend much danger from such a calamity.

. . . .

I have become so tired of my present life, I am up at daybreak . . . until nine or ten in the evening, as the Spanish say, "*mucho trabajo en California*," no music parties, no ladies, nothing of refinement.

Truly and sincerely yours,
W.

San Francisco, July 1st, 1850.

Dear V.

I have been much bothered and troubled with my business today, have been obliged to be down town all day, most of the time in the burnt district, the wind blowing a hurricane and the dust and ashes almost choking and blinding one. I breathed an anathema on California and its everlasting winds, shut my eyes and pushed on . . .

Yours sincerely,
W.

Sunday Evening.

I have taken the first grand step toward coming home, have sold my whole right, title, and interest in and to the grocery, feed store, and livery stable, now so well known in San Francisco; the new proprietor takes possession tomorrow and I feel like a freed captive as though this move had placed me much nearer home, and indeed it has, for I can now arrange my business affairs so as to close them at any time between this and fall, and "Vamose the ranch." I shall be occupied for a week or so settling my accounts, or rather bringing others to a settlement, and then for a trip up the Sacramento to take a hasty glance at the "diggings," perhaps dig a few lumps myself as a "memento mori" and then, start for home. I have just received letters from Mother and Sister, both urging me in most affectionate terms to return home; Mother is a little ambitious however, and wishes me for the honor of the family to secure a few of those *large* lumps such as they read about home, she does not wish me to return empty handed . . .

Our fourth of July was rather a dull affair. We tried to get up a procession; I was one of the Marshals all in consequence of riding a fine horse, I suppose. I rode in the van of the procession on a large coal black Chili Horse with a splendid California saddle which cost $300, which I may splurge in Georgetown one of these days, if I do not find some one more foolish than myself, to pay a higher price for it. 'Tis the most beautiful saddle I have seen in California, but I must close tonight for (you will scarce credit it) I am completely chilled through standing at my desk, the cold northwest wind is blowing a gale as it does every night and it is impossible to keep warm with the thickest coats on . . .

Now as to my future movements, I now intend leaving for home before the first of November, but the events of the coming two weeks will decide, and in my next letter I think I shall be able to inform you to a certainty, almost. Our Barque *Galindo* is now at Trinidad[17] and on her return we talk of sending her to Tahiti, one of the Society Islands, for a cargo of fruit, oranges, lemons, limes and cocoanuts. If we are successful and get a fair proportion of the cargo here in good condition it will be a fine speculation, if not we lose. This, if we conclude to carry it through, will detain me here until December, longer than I wish to stay. They wish me to go with the vessel but I can hardly bear the idea of another imprisonment of three or four months, dearly as I should like to visit the islands. We should stop at the Marquesas Islands and probably some of the other groups on the way down, so if I should take this trip I should have more than California to talk about on my return. I have always had a wish to visit these islands and may possibly conclude to go, but do not think it probable as yet . . .

Sincerely yours ever,
W.

San Francisco, Sunday, Sept. 8, 1850.

My dear V.

I have taken my morning ride, smoked my cigar and conned over some letters. I am all alone in a pleasant little room, for strange as it may seem I have now a place where I can be alone at times with my own thoughts, and that is rather strange for California . . . I have sold all my interest in the Barque *Galindo*, and consider myself very fortunate in so doing, although at a sacrifice, so all I have to do is wait patiently a few weeks and I hope to close up all business in California. Meanwhile I have taken a contract from the Corporation for grading Stockton Street, the finest street in the city, merely to keep myself busy for a few weeks; when it is completed, hey for Yankeeland once more. I shall have many sketches to show you and many a wondrous long yarn to spin . . .

It is now late at night, I have just written up my account for the week and can scarce keep my eyes open, my weary lids will come down in spite of me. My contract keeps me very busy; ten hours a day I have to be upon the street, some twenty five or thirty men are to be attended to beside a dozen teams. Oxen, ploughs, etc., etc., I am pushing it through in true California style and 'twill not last a great while. With all this you may imagine that by the time night comes I am glad to retire to rest.

Sincerely,
W.

Sunday, October 27, 1850.

Dear V.

Another week has passed away, and I am one week nearer home, although it is now decided that I cannot leave in the steamer of the first. The reason we could not leave then is simply that we could get no money from the city, that you know is an all important item; I now hope by the 12th of next month to secure the main portion of our dues and leave the balance for collection with Jas King of Wm.[18] I leave here on the 12th Nov., on the Steamer *Antelope*, 'twill take 20 days to reach Panama, then allow four days or a week's detention on the Isthmus, that brings us to the 9th December, then say ten days from Chagres to Charleston, that will make it December 19th, so that I think on, or about Christmas day you will see me.

A few days since we received the news of our admission into the union, I was on the roof of a high building in Montgomery St. when the Steamer *Northerner*[19] arrived; she came gallantly up the Harbor, gaily decorated with flags and firing minute guns. As she advanced the news was announced in the street below, and never did I see so much rejoicing, every countenance beamed with joy, and "God bless the glorious Union" was the response of every heart. In less than five minutes the Star Spangled Banner was waving from every ship in the harbor and every flagstaff on shore, hundreds assembled in the Plaza and patriotic speeches were the order of the day; next Tuesday was appointed as a grand holiday to celebrate the nuptials of the "Bride of the West." The admission of California as a state has given confidence and stability to everything in the shape of business. A few days since a small select party of us mounted on steeds at early dawn, and started on a picnic party on the shores of the Pacific. The coast is some eight miles from here, and we had a beautiful ride over hill and dale, hunting as we rode along, the quails were abundant and we saw several grey wolves and coyotes prowling about. The prime object of our picnic was the discussion of "Clam Soup," and we were armed with all the utensils and instruments necessary on such an occasion. We must have been a picturesque group as we threaded the mountain paths, indian file, with all the kettles and kitchen fixings at our saddle bows. I couldn't help smiling at the idea of what a nice figure we would have cut anywhere on the shores of the Atlantic. When we arrived at the spot selected and picketed our horses in a pretty little valley we clambered down the rocks to the beach, and a most picturesque place it was. We found we could not have any clams without *ducks*, for a tremendous surf was rolling in from the ocean, dashing over the rocks and throwing the spray and foam in a magnificent style; however at it we went and made the best of the ducking we got, and soon had a kettle full of the "Natives" over a great fire. In short we had glorious appetites, we had glorious good clam soup, and with spoons made of the "purple mussel shell" which "glowed with purple paint without, and shone with silvery pearl within" we ate our stews in "thankful silence" until our appetites somewhat appeased, and our hearts warmed with the good cheer, we took each a cigar, had a succession of stump speeches on the union in which I must say that Clam Soup figured rather largely, and was proved to be indispensably necessary to the preservation of the union, and the benefit of the Constitution. We then took a stroll along the beach and viewed the seals, sea lions and other monsters of the deep, at a respectful distance of course. We then returned to our horses who meanwhile had regaled themselves on the fresh grass and no doubt enjoyed the holiday as much as ourselves. We had a pleasant ride home by moonlight, and the day will dwell as a green sunny spot in the remembrance of all the party, for t'was a day of pure enjoyment, and our friends at home were not forgotten especially the sweethearts and wives who were pledged in bumpers. At the conclusion of our repast each man took his unique spoon formed of mussel shell and bamboo (the which I claim as my invention) and, raising it aloft, made a vow that said spoon should be preserved till the latest period of life as a sacred relic, so you may expect to see in my cabinet of curiosities when I get home the identical spoon with which I ate Clam Soup on the shores of the Pacific.

Our grand celebration came off finely and surpassed many a display I have seen in our large Atlantic cities, the most attractive feature of the occasion was a large car drawn by six grey horses, and filled with little boys appropriately dressed each carrying a shield with the name of a state inscribed upon each, in the center of the platform was a raised throne on which sat a beautiful little girl[20] robed as a queen, in gold, silver and ermine, bearing the shield of California; above floated the stars and stripes, and a flag with the motto, "The bride of the Pacific, we honor her nuptials." This was beautiful indeed, and cheers upon cheers greeted its appearance wherever the procession passed. All went "merry as a marriage bell" until dusk, when a terrible disaster occurred, making a sad finale to this day of rejoicing. The boiler of the steamboat *Sagamore* burst as she was about leaving the dock crowded with passengers, a more perfect wreck I never saw; the number of lives lost is not yet ascertained and probably never will be, neither can their names be ascertained, and many a heart at home will be made desolate by this disaster and the fate of the loved one ever remain a sealed book.

The new steamer *Republic* arrived last evening bringing the news that the *Galindo* was in the port of Acapulco, almost a complete wreck; she experienced a severe hurricane which completely dismasted her and stove all the Boats, in short swept away everything above the bulwarks.

She will no doubt prove a total loss, so that I was lucky in at least one instance in regard to the old Barque, although my self congratulation on the subject reminds me of the Irishman who broke his leg and thanked heaven it was not his neck. Well, peace to her memory. She has carried me safely many a long and dreary mile over the trackless ocean, many a pleasant hour I have passed on board of her, and many a weary one as well. Heaven save me from another such voyage!

...Do not tell the folks when I am coming for I would like to surprise them a little, and 'twould be very appropriate to drop in upon them on Christmas, or New Years Day, all the way from California to make a holiday visit.

Sincerely yours,
W.

NOTES

1. Cadwalader Ringgold, *A Series of Charts, with Sailing Directions, Embracing Surveys of the Farallones, Entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, Bays of San Francisco and San Pablo ...* (Washington, 1851).

2. Harry T. Peters, *California on Stone* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc.), 1935.

3. The bark *Galindo*, Captain Macy, with 76 passengers and a crew of 12, sailed from New York on April 7, 1849. She had been "furnished in a superior manner, by Messrs. Brett & Vose." Her passenger list, as given in the New York *Weekly Herald* of April 19, 1849, included the following names: H. N. Adams, J. Arlington, J. E. Baker, J. D. Banker, J. N. Barker, A. Bukman, W. C. Bunting, B. Burdge, Jr., A. Coleman, B. C.

Coleman, B. F. Coleman, J. L. Coutant, August Cross, J. Darling, S. R. Derrick, S. L. Derrickson, J. Dobbs, R. Donaldson, W. H. Dougal, S. G. Dunbar, W. H. Force, James Gallon, James T. Gardner (Troy, N.Y.), C. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, S. H. Haskins, Elliot Higgins, William Hines, M. W. Holley, M. Homan, J. E. Hooper, A. H. Jayne, C. F. Jayne, R. S. Jenkins, T. B. Johnson, T. Kindall, C. H. Knapp, George Knight, P. S. Lawson, C. W. Leroy, H. Lorrimer, D. S. Mapes, J. H. H. McClure, A. McDonald, M. Menges, T. Meyneris, J. Miller, H. W. Moore, Constantine Morse, Thomas Nelson, Francis Pasman, J. M. Purves, A. J. Putnam, P. B. Rogers, S. M. Rollins, J. Sacket, T. B. Savage, W. Shepard, W. H. Short, T. W. Skirven, J. Smith, Joseph Smith, M. Smith, S. A. Snow, A. Stubbe, E. G. Terry, J. W. Tyler, J. L. Van Nortwick, A. J. Van Tassel, J. A. Van Tassell, A. Van Waler, Jr., James White, C. R. Wilder, R. F. Williams, A. Wood, J. Young.

4. The log was later destroyed, but a copy is in the possession of a member of the family.

5. Charles P. Kimball, comp., *The San Francisco Directory, September 1, 1850,* on p. 37 places Dougal & Graves at the corner of Kearny and Bush Streets, and on p. 53 (after Graves' name) at Kearny and Pine.

6. Charles Hotchkiss is mentioned in "The California Letters of Edward Hotchkiss" in this *Quarterly,* XII (June 1933), p. 94. A George Hotchkiss was a clerk for Scranton & Smith (*op. cit.,* p. 92), and a Leonard Hotchkiss is mentioned on pp. 93, 94, 100 and 104.

7. Cooke, Baker & Co., commission merchants, on California Street between Montgomery and Sansome. Kimball, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

8. See Note 6.

9. "Sanchez Ranch" was the adobe home of the family of José Sanchez, grantee under Mexico of Rancho Buri Buri. The building stood near the barns of the present Millbrae Dairy.

10. The "Mission of Saint Mathews" was a large adobe building on San Mateo Creek which would now be at the corner of El Camino Real and Baywood Avenue in San Mateo. It was built by the fathers of Mission Dolores as a mission outpost for the large number of Indians who lived in that vicinity, as a storage place for grain, and as a stopping place on the road to Santa Clara. The latter use has caused it to be known locally as "The Hospice." It stood until the earthquake of 1868 and is vaguely remembered by some people still living. Dougal's drawing is the only authentic picture of the building known to exist.

11. At the time of Dougal's visit, a New Yorker by the name of Nicholas de Peyster was operating a "store and public house" in the old adobe "Mission" by San Mateo Creek—hence the milk punch.

12. "Angelo's Ranch," judging by the distances given in the letter, would now be in the vicinity of Menlo Park. Dougal's drawing of it shows only a tent house set up under the oak trees as a stopping place for stagecoaches. There was at this time or later a hotel in Belmont known as Angelo's.

13. "Wistman's Ranch" was probably the J. W. Whisman place, in what would now be the northeastern outskirts of the city of Mountain View.

14. The Sierra Nevada are not visible from this point. Dougal probably applied the name to the Coast Range which borders the Santa Clara Valley and is here dominated by Mount Diablo and Mount Hamilton.

15. This would be the fire of June 14, 1850, which devastated the area between Clay and California Streets from Kearny Street to the waterfront. The two previous fires witnessed by Dougal were on December 24, 1849, and May 4, 1850. A fourth great fire (September 17, 1850) occurred before he left San Francisco.

16. "Mr. K" may refer to James King of William, who is mentioned by name in the letter of October 27. King was a native of Georgetown, D. C., and was well known to both Mr. Dougal and his fiancee, to whom this letter was addressed. Dougal and King kept "bachelor's hall" together in San Francisco, and when Dougal started for home he left his unfinished business affairs in King's hands.

17. The *Galindo* was one of eleven vessels that had sailed north in March 1850 in an effort to find Trinidad Bay. The town of Trinidad was founded in April 1850 by Captain Robert A. Parker. Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region* (Los Angeles: California State Historical Association, 1929), pp. 44, 49.

18. The banking house of James King of William, established in December 1849, had survived the run on banks of the "monetary crisis" in September 1850. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 290, 513. See also Note 16.

19. An error for the *Oregon*. See Soulé, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-94.

20. Mary Eliza Davis, later Mrs. George J. Bucknall. It is interesting to compare Dougal's description of the celebration with that of Ernest de Massey in *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1927), pp. 161-62. Dougal's letter, begun on October 27, evidently was not finished until after the 29th.

THE EDITOR OF THE DOUGAL LETTERS

Frank Merriman Stanger will be remembered for his article, "A California Rancho under Three Flags," in the September 1938 issue of our *Quarterly*. A teacher of history at San Mateo Junior College and executive secretary of the San Mateo County Historical Association, Dr. Stanger holds the degree of Ph.D. from the University of California, as well as an A.B. from the University of South Dakota and a degree from the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

San Francisco in 1851
As Described by Eyewitnesses

By LULA MAY GARRETT

FROM THE many records which are extant today it is possible to open the door on the San Francisco of ninety-two years ago and visualize the city as it appeared to newcomers and to its earlier inhabitants who could remember the good old days of two years before. Eyewitnesses tell the story in letters, in diaries, in travelers' books, and in many an item in the *Daily Alta California* and the San Francisco *Herald.*

The city in January 1851 is said to have had a population of from 25,000 to 30,000. The census for the following year reports 36,751. No figures can be accurate because the population was constantly shifting. Of the 27,000 persons who are said to have arrived by sea in 1851,[1] it is probable that only 7,000 remained in the city.

Nearly all books written by travelers who came through the Golden Gate describe the harbor as being large enough for all the navies of the world at the same time.[2] One Frenchman reveals the sources of this statement as Otto von Kotzebue, the early nineteenth century navigator, and "Van Couver."[3] Mrs. Bates, a New England matron who landed in April 1851, writes that there was always a "depth of water sufficient to admit ships of the largest size; and so completely land-locked and protected from the winds is the harbor that vessels can ride at anchor in perfect safety in all kinds of weather."[4] In this almost unanimous praise of the sea approach to the city there is one indignant criticism. Saint-Amant, a French government agent, complains that his ship dared not go into port in a fog because the Americans, "always less concerned with measures of safety than with taking chances," had neglected to build lighthouses and mark the channel.[5] Mrs. Bates says that in the harbor the island of Yerba Buena lay a "mile or so distant" from the city, and that "opposite San Francisco. . . is a place called Sausolito" to which waterboats plied, affording ample remuneration for the toil." These boats brought in drinking water, which was peddled from house to house in kegs on the backs of mules. "On the right hand side of the bay, as you are approaching the city, is situated the Presidio of San Francisco" the adobe walls of which were crumbling.[6]

Once he was safely within the harbor, the traveler saw before him a forest of ships in rows two or three deep. There was not room enough at the wharf for all the vessels, although many piers had been built out into the bay. Holinski, a Lithuanian traveler who wrote in French, was such an ardent admirer of the new country that he was prone to exaggerate. He says that there were five or six hundred ships for the most part "fixed to the quays of wood or fastened to the docks where the anchorage is easy and safe."[7] Soulé, one of the editors of the *Daily Alta California* during a part of 1851, on October 31 counted 451 ships in San Francisco, 148 of which were store-ships.[8]

The city of San Francisco, as Mrs. Bates saw it, was situated on the south side of the entrance fronting the bay, about six miles from the ocean. The bay, from San Francisco due east, was about twelve miles in breadth. A range of high hills on this eastern shore bounded the view in that direction, and between the hills and the shore was the fertile plain called the Contra Costa.[9] The city was built on a "semi circular inlet, about two miles across, at the foot of a succession of bleak sandy hills covered here and there with brushwood." There remained hardly a vestige of San Francisco's predecessor on the site, the little village of Yerba Buena.[10]

Because wharves paid so well there was a rush to build them. There were nine by the close of 1851. Cross streets were built between the older portions of the docks, and the enclosed spaces filled in. The construction of piers enabled ships to unload their cargoes directly, and the filling in of the mud flats furnished a level space for the building of the city. Front Street was really Front Street in 1851, but the unfilled spaces were so many and the grade so low that Montgomery, the third street west of Front, was flooded on one occasion. The piling was soon destroyed by marine worms. Sometimes buildings fell before the steam shovel could fill the space beneath them with sand.[11] Old store-ships hemmed in by this process of bringing the land around them became warehouses, saloons, or hotels.[12] By 1851 "houses had been built out on piles for nearly half a mile beyond the original high water mark..."[13] Mrs. Bates attempted to cross one of the interstices between wharves on a cross-timber a hundred feet long and about twelve feet above the slimy water. She was about half way over when she suddenly became very dizzy and was obliged to get down on her knees and hold on to the timber. Since it was the same distance back as it was forward, she finally made herself walk the narrow beam.[14] Holinski complains mildly of the smell of tar and stagnant water.[15] Soulé bluntly describes the low places as "accumulating a vast mass of putrid substances, from whence proceeded the most unwholesome and offensive smells."[16]

The wharves were used not only for the convenience of ships but also as building places. Long Wharf, which the British traveler, Frank Marryat, calls "the Central Wharf," is described by him with a vividness which his poor sentence construction does not dim:

> The Central Wharf of San Francisco, which is nearly a mile in length, is for some distance occupied on either side by Jew slopsellers; and, as these indefatigable gentlemen insist all over the world upon exposing their wares outside their shops, the first glance down Central Wharf impresses you with the idea that the inhabitants of the district have hung their clothes out to dry after a shower of rain. Scattered among the Jew shops are markets for vegetables and poultry, fishmongers, candy-sellers (the Long Wharfers are

> very fond of sugar-plums), gambling houses of the worst repute, and drinking-shops innumerable. Being narrow and crowded, and full of loaded drays, drunken sailors, empty packing-cases, run-away horses, rotten cabbages, excited steamboat runners, stinking fish, Chinese porters, gaping strangers, and large holes in the planks, through which you may perceive the water, it is best to be careful in walking down Long Wharf, and to turn neither to the right nor to the left.[17]

Long Wharf furnished many an item for the *Alta*, since the open-air shops were a constant invitation to petty thieves. The police could not be expected to do much about such minor matters. So the merchants kept cowhide whips and administered punishment immediately.[18] On at least one occasion a policeman, or a man who was wearing a policeman's badge, ran away when he was called on to remove a Mexican cook, cleaver in hand, from the person of a drunken Scot who had been behaving badly.[19] When the usual activities of its denizens are considered, it seems rather captious of the editor of the *Alta* to be so opposed to the sign on Long Wharf which said, "Shampooing is done by a Lady."[20]

The first impression of the city from the waterfront was one of utter confusion, with houses jumbled here and there. Holinski was surprised to find that this was an optical illusion due to the inequalities of the ground, and that like all other cities of the United States San Francisco was built on a regular plan and had straight streets.[21] Of the general appearance of the city, a British visitor, Borthwick, says:

> Everything bore evidence of newness, and the greater part of the city presented a makeshift and temporary appearance, being composed of the most motley collection of edifices, in the way of houses, which can well be conceived. Some were mere tents, with perhaps a wooden front sufficiently strong to support the sign of the occupant; some were composed of sheets of zinc on a wooden framework; there were numbers of corrugated iron houses, the most unsightly things possible, and generally painted brown; there were many important American houses, all, of course, painted white, with green shutters; also dingy-looking Chinese houses, and occasionally some substantial brick buildings; but the great majority were nondescript, shapeless, patchwork concerns, in the fabrication of which, sheet-iron, wood, zinc and canvass, seemed to have been employed indiscriminately; while here and there, in the middle of a row of such houses, appeared the hulk of a ship, which had been hauled up, and now served as a warehouse, the cabins being fitted up as offices, or sometimes converted into a boarding-house.[22]

Pringle Shaw, a British Tory, states that on the sides of the surrounding hills there were flimsy wooden houses propped up by stilts. Shaw, who interpreted unfavorably nearly everything that he saw as a symbol of democracy, considered these to be emblems of the frail republican government which was liable to be overturned at any moment because of its utter worthlessness.[23] A French observer, Frignet, notes that all American towns had a surrounding fringe of wooden houses which were expected to be replaced by more permanent structures as the city grew.[24] Apparently there was nothing good to be said for the environs of San Francisco. Saint-Amant, a friendly French government official, says that there was no law about the disposal of dead bodies, and on the outskirts of the city one saw nothing but these evidences of destruction and breathed the "pestilent odor" of putrefaction.[25]

When the newcomer of 1851 began to explore the city streets he found the principal thoroughfare, Montgomery Street, about three-quarters of a mile long. On it were located most of the bankers' offices, the principal stores, some of the best restaurants, and numerous gambling and drinking establishments.[26] Holinski asserts that the banks on Montgomery Street ranged from a branch of Rothschild's to saving banks with signs in all languages. There were no laws controlling savings banks, and they were usually swindling establishments. The stores were of Parisian elegance and the restaurants attracted all lovers of good food.[27] Another observer, Hinton R. Helper, says of Clay Street: "Next to Montgomery, this is the most fashionable street in the city; the large establishments where retailers deal in ladies' and gentlemen's dress goods being situated upon it." The sidewalks were narrow and crowded, and ladies found shopping on this street "especially annoying and tedious; for they are designedly balked or hindered in their course by a set of well-dressed vagabonds, who promenade the *trestoir* from morning to night for the sole purpose of staring in their faces."[28]

Most of the streets were planked, as was of course that part of the city built on piles, but elsewhere the mud was ankle deep and there were holes in some of the streets which rendered them almost impassable. After the fires of May and June there were burned sections in the planking, and there was an uncovered empty cistern at the corner of California and Montgomery Streets.[29] By August 6, one planked street (Jackson) could not be used between Dupont and Montgomery because of the need for repairs. Ten days after the first complaint appeared in the *Alta* the street was still closed.[30] The *Alta* pointed out that the destruction of the street lights in the fire made such traps as uncovered cisterns and defective planking especially dangerous. On September 8 a notice appeared which said that a child had been lost who "answered to the name of Alick."[31] Sixteen days later the child's body was found in an open vault into which he had fallen and drowned one night when he attempted to cross a dark lot as a short cut home.[32]

Rats swarmed everywhere, and it was difficult to walk at night without treading on them, Borthwick reports, adding that it was not an unusual sight "to see a gentleman suddenly pull up the sleeve of his coat or the leg of his trousers, and smile in triumph when he caught his little tormentor," a flea. "Enormous heaps" of empty bottles "piled up in all sorts of out-of-the-way places" suggested to Mr. Borthwick a "consumption of liquor which was truly awful." The streets he described as "the general receptacle for every description of rubbish."

> They were chiefly covered with bits of broken boxes and casks, fragments of hampers, iron hoops, old tin cases, and empty bottles. In the vicinity of the numerous Jew slop-shops, they were thickly strewed with old boots, hats, coats, and pantaloons; for the majority of the population carried their wardrobe on their backs, and when they bought

a new article of dress, the old one which it was to replace was pitched into the street.[33]

Borthwick thus sums up California's claim to fame: "California was often said to be famous for three things—rats, fleas and empty bottles; but old clothes might well have been added to list."[34] The reason for discarding so much clothing was that new clothes were cheap[35] and washing was costly. The Chinese laundries charged five dollars a dozen, and other laundries charged more until their prices were forced down by the Orientals. In this custom of throwing away old clothing the Englishman saw untidiness; the Frenchman pointed out that it indicated the absence of extremely poor people such as rag pickers.[36]

Because of the concealment that the dark streets afforded holdup men, the *Alta* advised every person living on the outskirts of the town to pick up two bricks when he started home.[37] In September there was a spasm of enforcement of the midnight closing law for saloons. The rows and fights accordingly diminished but the streets were darkened.[38] By November 6 a company had been formed to put up posts and look after the lights at the cost of one dollar a week to each subscriber. These lights were to be erected between Battery and Dupont and Bush Street and Broadway.[39] By November 28 many private individuals had placed lights in front of their houses. The editor of the *Alta* when reporting this added that he hoped to see Montgomery Street, at least, lighted—whether by public or by private enterprise he did not indicate. By December 8 lights on Montgomery Street (supplied by private funds), with some on Washington Street just below the Plaza, had improved conditions. These lamps burned whale oil which was so expensive that the editor could not understand why they were lighted on moonlit nights.[40]

In the closing months of 1851 an enthusiastic San Franciscan wrote to his friend, a former resident of the city, that a "very ingeniously contrived steam-engine" had been sent out from New York eight or nine months previously and that it was called a "steam paddy" because it could do as much work as many Irish laborers. This machine was clearing away the sand hills in the direction of the Mission, "removing the sand to the sea, on trucks running on rails." The sand, scooped up by the shovel, was put into cars and run down to the waterfront to build up the tide flats. This was a relatively cheap and rapid means of getting level space for a business section. The tracks ran

> along the most populous streets and piers, without the traffic being thereby interrupted for one moment. In this way, the whole of Sansome, the whole of Battery, and part of Front Streets (which, until now, had been standing *upon* the bay on piles, and were connected by wooden piers) are filled up; and so are also those which run parallel with Commercial Street; so that we may expect with certainty, within six or eight months, to see the bay filled up from Rincon's to Clark's Point.
>
> In Sansome Street, where, a few months ago only, large ships used to discharge their cargo, there is now a colossal brick playhouse . . .[41]

The sand cars ran down by force of gravity and were pulled back by mule power. A conductor who blew a fish horn as a signal for people to get off the tracks stood on the back of one of the cars. When a man committed suicide by getting in the way of these cars the fact came out that they were piled so high with dirt that the conductor could not see the track.[42] Another accident, in which a man's leg was cut off, roused the city authorities to pass what the *Alta* called the "Leg Preserving Ordinance" which forbade dirt cars to go more than six miles an hour.[43]

The excavating and filling in caused the houses to be on different levels from the streets. According to Borthwick:

> The houses had been built before the grade of the different streets had been fixed by the corporation, and there were places where the streets, having been cut down through the hills to their proper level, were nothing more than wide trenches, with a perpendicular bank on either side, perhaps forty or fifty feet high, and on the brink of these stood the houses, to which access was gained by ladders and temporary wooden stairs . . . [44]

In other places the houses were far below the street level and people climbed down ladders to their dwellings.

Because these changes were made without proper provision for drainage, cellars were flooded when it rained, there was a pool at the foot of Montgomery Street, and the lots which had embankments on all sides came to be ponds and depositories of all kinds of refuse. After the rains began in November, the *Alta* said that it might be very amusing to some persons that the keepers of cellar eating places had been driven out like rats, but that it should be a warning to the city to provide storm sewers to carry away the water. The editor predicted that, as usual, goods damaged by water where cellars had been used for storage would be auctioned off for more than the undamaged goods would have brought.[45] The water backed up on the lots between Montgomery and Jackson Streets to such an extent that by November 10 wags amused themselves by putting up signs saying: "Notice—Steamer Newsance will leave Lake Montgomery every morning, until further notice, for the Council Chamber. For passage, Apply to Capt. Ben Ham [Brenham] or Alder Man. Agents." "For Sale.—Water Lots. Inquire of the Humbugging Commissioners. Coupons taken at Par."[46] The ponds filled with refuse of all kinds soon added their unpleasantness to the odors coming from the waterfront.

The "miasmas from the port" did not go up as high as Stockton Street. A fashionable residence street by the end of 1851, Stockton extended to the top of the hills from which there was "a panorama of great beauty."[47] The families, however, were few in comparison with the single men who made up most of the population.[48] Dwellings ranged from handsome wooden houses of three or four stories to tents, or even to encampments on vacant lots such as that described by the *Alta.* A French cobbler, his wife and three children, seemingly owning nothing but two boards, a bench, and a side of sole leather, lived out in the open.[49]

Borthwick describes a street scene in San Francisco in 1851 as follows:

> The streets presented a scene of intense bustle and excitement. The sidewalks were blocked up with piles of goods, in front of the already crowded stores; men hurried along with the air of having the weight of all the business of California on their shoulders; others stood in groups at the corners of the streets; here and there was a drunken man lying grovelling in the mud, enjoying himself as uninterruptedly as if he were merely a hog; old miners, probably on their way home, were loafing about, staring at everything, in all the glory of mining costume, jealous of every inch of their long hair and flowing beards, and of every bit of California mud which adhered to their ragged old shirts and patchwork pantaloons, as evidences that they, at least, had "seen the elephant."[50]

The roar of the planked streets reminded the Frenchmen of circus chariot races. There were "continuous streams of drays drawn by splendid horses . . . and horsemen galloped about, equally regardless of their own and other men's lives.[51] Auctioneers cried their goods or rang bells to collect a crowd,

> and at the same time one's ears were dinned with the discord of half-a-dozen brass bands, braying out different popular airs from as many different gambling saloons. In the midst of it all, runners, or tooters, for . . . river steamboats would be cracking up the superiority of their respective boats.
>
> "One dollar to-night for Sacramento, by the splendid steamer Senator, the fastest boat that ever turned a wheel from Long Wharf — with feather pillows and curled-hair mattresses, mahogany doors and silver hinges. She has got eight young-lady passengers to-night, that speak all the dead languages, and not a coloured man from stem to stern of her."[52]

Around the Plaza—the square bounded by Dupont, Clay, Kearny, and Washington Streets—were the most striking buildings in San Francisco in 1851.[53] The Plaza was referred to by the editor of the *Alta* as a "rag fair or market place... An eyesore and a disgrace to a city like San Francisco," a farmyard "for human and other cattle."[54] The editor tried at first to get the city to improve the Plaza, then he urged the nearby property owners to enhance the value of their lots by planting trees on the square, if the city would not do it. By November he had succeeded in collecting a thousand dollars to build a fence around the place, and he reported the progress of the work thus: "To the usual accompaniment of ten thousand questions by passers-by, the Plaza fence has begun to rise. Now the Plaza should be planted with grass and should have two ornamental gateways."[55] Various persons contributed plans for the beautification of the place, but it continued to be more useful than ornamental. Even with the fence added, this is the way Helper saw it:

> What is here called the plaza, or park . . . now lies before us; but as it is nothing more nor less than a cow-pen, inclosed with unplaned plank, we will say but little about it. In the middle is planted a tall liberty-pole, near which is erected a rude rostrum for lynch-lawyers and noisy politicians. If there is a tree, or a bush, or a shrub, or a sprig of grass, or any thing else in or about it that is green, or that bears the slightest similitude to vegetation, nobody has ever yet seen it; and, as a pleasure-ground, it is used only by the four-footed denizens of the city.[56]

It was used also as a place for demonstrating somebody's chemical fire extinguisher which was hailed as the greatest invention of the age if it could do what its inventor claimed for it, put out fire without injuring the goods.[57] The Plaza was the scene of various duels, some merely knockdowns,[58] some highly diverting to the spectators—such as the attempt of the jealous husband to beat the amorous boarder with a cowhide whip.[59] or the more dangerous encounter described by Marryat. To the practice of carrying arms in the city Marryat attributes the many cases of shooting and the fact that duelling had become "quite the rage." One day he read the statement in the newspaper that a Mr. Graham gave notice to the public that Mr. Lemon was a "scoundrel, villain, liar, and poltroon."

> The next day it was understood that the gentleman with the unenviable titles intended to shoot his traducer "on sight" . . . When I reached the Plaza, I found a large concourse of people already assembled to see the sport . . . The two gentlemen, attended by their friends, soon made their appearance on opposite sides of the square, and . . . commenced walking about the square as if they did not know each other, and when within shot, one said to the other, "Draw and defend yourself!" which the latter did by sending a bullet through the assailant's arm. The fire then became warm; six shots were exchanged in rapid succession, and both combatants were taken wounded from the field—not mortally, however, for they recovered, and arranged a regular meeting."[60]

The *Alta* referring to this particular duel commented that "It is bad taste and it is endangering the lives of the disinterested passers-by," two of whom were wounded.[61]

On Sunday, the Rev. William Taylor, a Methodist minister, made a practice of going to the square and gathering a crowd by beginning a hymn. Soulé describes the scene: "Suddenly from the piazza of an old adobe on the plaza arises the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He 'raises' a hymn in a voice which would be dreadful in its power were it not melodious. Hark! You may hear the words half a mile off. The city hall sends back the echo like a sounding board...That voice at once arrests attention." A religious service, "primitive...very earnest, and by no means ridiculous" followed.[62] Once the preaching was broken into by the efforts of Taylor's congregation to whip a thief who had snatched some boots, and a free-for-all fight with the police who rescued the pilferer followed.[63] One Sunday morning the old adobe on the Plaza was the scene of the hanging of the Sydney thief, John Jenkins.[64] This old adobe was the only house remaining on the Plaza from the San Francisco of other days.[65]

Of the eight or ten large gambling places or saloons around the square, the most conspicuous were the El Dorado, the Bella Union, and the California Exchange,[66] which was an annex to the Jenny Lind Theatre.[67] Nearly every traveler described these houses. At first they were open from nine in the morning until the customers left; even after a midnight closing law was enacted nobody paid the slightest attention to it for several months. When the police began to arrest the owners of the houses for violating the law, the places were closed promptly at twelve and reopened at twelve-five. During the summer, while the Vigilance Committee excitement was at its height, the gambling places closed at midnight and stayed closed; but on the sixteenth of August a ruling was made whereby the larger ones which could afford to give bond for good conduct were allowed to remain open. The rooms were sixty or seventy feet long, brilliantly lighted by fine chandeliers. Borthwick contrasted the miserable living quarters of most of the men and the splendid gambling houses with their

> ...walls decorated with ornamental painting and gilding, and hung with large mirrors and showy pictures, while in an elevated projecting orchestra half-a-dozen Germans were playing operatic music. There were a dozen or more tables in the room, each with a compact crowd of eager betters around it, and the whole room was so filled with men that elbowing one's way between the tables was a matter of difficulty. The atmosphere was quite hazy with the quantity of tobacco smoke, and was strongly impregnated with the fumes of brandy. If one happened to enter while the musicians were taking a rest, the quiet and stillness were remarkable.[68]

The tables were rented to professional gamblers. Incidentally, the British writers are careful to point out to their readers that in California "gambler" meant only the operator of the game, not the players,[69] just as "grocer" meant the seller of food but not the buyer. The gambler usually paid a fixed sum and a percentage of profits to the house.[70] A young man writing to his family said that this sum was five or ten dollars a night according to the location of the table. He added that the tables around the sides of the room were usually occupied by women, for the most part French women, who had a small bank of one or two hundred dollars and ran dice games, A.B.C., or "Rolette," while the central tables were rented by men with banks of two to five thousand dollars who dealt monte or "pharo." Billiards were just beginning to be popular in California, and the writer says there were "two or three billiard tables in the back part of the room." The cost of a "string" at one of these tables was one dollar.[71] Great numbers of games are mentioned: faro and chuck-a-luck for the Americans; monte for the Mexicans; roulette, vingt-et-un, paire-ou-non, trente-et quarante chiefly for the South Americans. Hinton R. Helper, whose reports must be considered in relation to his purpose (to disillusion those who might otherwise be taken in by stories about California), suspected that all gamblers were swindlers, for he says that "usually two gamblers form a co-partnership" and work together to give signs or to divert attention from each other's trickery. Helper describes two professionals who attracted his attention:

> ... One of them is a lank, cadaverous fellow, with a repulsive expression of low cunning, full of hypocrisy and deceit, taciturn in disposition, unengaging in manners, who was formerly a Baptist preacher in Connecticut. The other has a vinous, fat, and jolly countenance, is open-faced, enjoys a joke, is lively,...is affable and courteous to strangers, talks a great deal, as might be expected, since, before he came to California, he was considered one of the most promising young lawyers in Mississippi.[72]

Foreign writers express surprise at the gamblers' habit of wandering away from their tables when business was slack, leaving piles of gold and silver unguarded.[73] One man says that there was "a full peck measure of gold coin upon the table."[74]

San Francisco gambling houses were notable for their quietness. At a place that had six tables, although two hundred persons were present hardly a word was said. There was only a "slight hum of voices" and the clink of dollars being shuffled "like so many cards."[75]

During the first part of the year, the gambling houses and saloons were nearly always combined. For the benefit of his British readers Borthwick describes a bar in detail. He found this a very attractive feature of the establishment:

> . . . a long polished mahogany or marble counter, at which two or three smart young men officiated, having behind them long rows of ornamental bottles, containing all the numerous ingredients necessary for concocting the hundred and one different "drinks" which were called for. This was also the most elaborately decorated part of the room, the wall being completely covered with mirrors and gilding, and further ornamented with china vases, bouquets of flowers, and gold clocks.[76]

Both the British and the French writers disliked the Americans' custom of standing at the bar, paying their bills as they were served, and gulping down their glassfuls, instead of seating themselves or having their liquor served with their meals.[77] The competition among the San Francisco saloons was so great that the free lunch had grown from the usual plate of crackers and cheese to a meal of "bear meat and cold salmon, of salad and cheese.[78] In a place where a good meal cost two dollars, such lavishness in giving away food indicated that great profits were made from the drinking. Additional features to attract custom were the pictures on the walls, and the orchestras. Helper objected violently to these "showy paintings and engravings, some of them of the size of life, representing nude women in every imaginable posture of obscenity and indecency.[79] The orchestras were generally French or German, and nearly all writers commend their excellence. Saint-Amant, less enthusiastic, calls them competent and deplores the fact that anybody should have to play to charm the ears of drunken men and gamblers who were not able to pay attention.[80]

All who mention the matter of drinking agree that the price of liquor was high, but they disagree as to its quality. Helper says that those houses which dealt in good qualities charged twenty-five cents for every drink or dram they sold, but that an adulterated article sold for about half as much. He states that "on the shelves and counters are dozens of labeled decanters and bottles, filled with the choicest liquors and artificial beverages the world produces."[81] Marryat says, however, that champagne of execrable quality cost from two to four pounds a bottle.[82] Holinski thought that the liquor was excellent and very rarely mislabeled, mixed, or misrepresented in any way.[83] Joseph A. Benton, a minister who gave a series of descriptive lectures which were published under the title, *The California Pilgrim*, states that in 1851 there was an alley in San Francisco into which the barrels came marked "Vinegar" and went out labeled "Claret," "Sauterne," and so forth.[84] An indication of the heavy drinking that was customary among the better classes of men is the fact that the liquor bill of the Vigilance Committee for the first few days was $150. However there was a protest that they were engaged in such serious business that no more liquor should be brought to headquarters.[85] Helper lists one hundred and two items of what he calls the "Bill of Fare of a California Groggery." Several of these are non-alcoholic, and several have unusual names that give no clue as to their composition, for example: Red Light, Hairs, Horns, One-eyed Joe, Moral Suasion, Vox Populi, Tug and Try, I O U, and Shamperone.[86] At least three concoctions made a great impersion on visiting foreigners, for nearly all became enthusiastic over mint juleps, sherry cobblers, and Queen Charlottes.

Besides the elegant saloons that were a part of the life of nearly all the respectable men of the city, there were numberless low places. Helper estimates that San Francisco had four grog shops at every intersection and that of the two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants of the state from twelve to fifteen thousand (one-fourth of whom were women) were engaged in the liquor business.[87] The annual consumption of drink he places at five million gallons. The rougher drinking places were combined with dives, lodging houses, swindling gambling establishments, and were general hang-outs for criminals. The *Alta* commended the name of one of the new cheap saloons, the "Embryo Republic of South Australia," which was owned, so the proprietor stated, by a "Young Irelander."[88] Drinking houses, mines, and so forth, were often named for political events or for Irish rebels against British rule. The more notorious places were kept by British ex-convicts, not by political offenders. Some of the latter establishments were: The Cottage of Content, Bird in Hand, Live and Let Live, Uncle Sam, Port Phillip, Rose Cottage, Panama House, Heart in Hand, McManus' Welcome. The owners of these places sometimes appeared in the Recorder's Court to answer for the violation of the midnight closing law, but from the records of the hours when various serious crimes occurred in these houses it seems that both this law and the Sunday closing law were equally ineffective.[89]

There were at least three places where no intoxicants were sold. One of these, Hillman's Temperance House, is mentioned incidentally in an item in the *Alta*.[90] A young man writing home said that he preferred a nice clean room to excellent food, so he was staying at Smith's Temperance House, which had good rooms but savorless fare.[91] The third place, opened in July 1851, was both a restaurant and what today would be called a soda fountain, and it was famous for its excellent food and its cleanliness. It was called Winn's Fountain Head.[92]

In 1851 the chief hotels were the Union, the Oriental, the Rassette House, and Jones' Hotel. The Union, a four-story brick structure on Kearny Street between Clay and Washington, the city's best hotel, was destroyed by the May fire.[93] The Oriental Hotel was an immense three-story structure of wood on the corner of Bush and Battery; the Rassette House was on Bush and Sansome; and Jones' Hotel was on Sansome and California. One of the queer looking older hotels was the St. Francis, first begun in 1849 by joining together a number of small houses, and enlarged by additions from time to time.[94]

Borthwick gives his general impressions of the hotels as follows:

> Good hotels were not wanting, but they were ridiculously extravagant places; and though flimsy concerns, built of wood, and not presenting very ostentatious exteriors, they were fitted up with all the lavish display which characterises the fashionable hotels of New York. In fact, all places of public resort were furnished and decorated in a style of most barbaric splendour, being filled with the costliest French furniture, and a profusion of immense mirrors, gorgeous gilding, magnificent chandeliers, and gold and china ornaments, conveying an idea of luxurious refinement which contrasted strangely with the appearance and occupations of the people by whom they were frequented.[95]

All during 1851 there was a scarcity of rooms in the hotels. Holinski says that even in September, when enthusiastic travelers reported that all signs of the June fires had been wiped out, he went to the Oriental Hotel, the Rassette House, and finally to the Jones Hotel trying to get a single room. Usually six or eight men had to sleep together. The Jones Hotel bedroom was only a dozen feet long and eight feet wide. It contained a wide bed, toilet utensils of porcelain, a table, two chairs, a chest of drawers, and a small mirror. The wells were papered and the floor carpeted to conceal the cracks between the planks.[96] Sometimes the walls of the sleeping rooms were made of cloth nailed to the framework of the house and papered over as if they were real walls. (Borthwick's description of elegance, above, evidently applied only to the public rooms of the hotels.) The St. Francis had some of these cloth-walled rooms and soon became the setting for many a story involving eavesdropping, intentional or otherwise.[97] Sir Henry Vere Huntley, who found nothing American too small to criticize, complains that the usual size of Californian-American hotel towels was fourteen inches square.[98] He says that he knows this is true because he took the trouble to measure the towel when he went to a hotel. Even a miner just from the wilds is noncommital about his room.[99] One traveler makes the statement that he does not see how the magnificent hotels are supported, and later says, "of lodging I cannot say much in favor."[100] Holinski gives hotel rates in *piastres*, twenty-five *piastres* a week or five *piastres* a day.[101] British guests complain that in California all persons living in the hotels must get hungry at the same instant, that there is no service outside the dining room, and that if a guest misses a meal he has to resort to a restaurant.

The restaurants were often characteristic of the nationalities of their proprietors. The immigration from France had been so large that some parts of the city were completely French in appearance, Borthwick reports.

The names of some of the second-rate places, such as the Trois Frères and the Café de Paris, he considers "rather ambitious," but the best places catered particularly to the American trade by calling themselves the Jackson House and the Lafayette. He describes them as being presided over by "elegantly dressed *dames du comptoir*, and all the arrangements were in Parisian style."[102] Helper, the American, asserts that the French restaurants were better than those kept by his own countrymen, for three reasons:

> . . . A better dinner can be procured here [at the Café du Commerce] than in an American house, because the French are better cooks, cleaner in their culinary arrangements and preparations, more polite and attentive to their guests, and less accustomed to adulterating their provisions. Dinner, without wine, costs two dollars for each person; but with it, from three to five dollars, according as to quality and quantity consumed.[103]

For the unfortunate person at the lower end of the financial scale there was the Dime House on the waterfront, where each serving of food cost that amount.[104]

Borthwick, the Englishman, thought the principal American houses were fully as good as the best French ones. He classifies the restaurants not only according to nationalities but also according to the part of the United States from which their proprietors came. There were a number of eating houses, he states, "where those who delighted in corn-bread, buckwheat cakes, pickles, grease, molasses, apple-sauce, and pumpkin pie, could gratify their taste to the fullest extent."[105] Borthwick found nothing particularly English about any of the eating houses, although there were second-rate British drinking places in great numbers. The Germans had lager beer cellars, so full of noise and smoke that nobody but the Germans ventured in. *Fondas* were found in the Mexican quarter of the town. The Chinese also had many restaurants, but apparently Occidentals had not yet begun to try Chinese dishes. Borthwick commented that while their rice looked very clean they had "dried fish, dried ducks, and other very nasty-looking Chinese eatables. . . . A peculiarly nasty smell pervaded this locality, and it was generally believed that rats were not so numerous here as elsewhere."[106]

Nearly all the writers of the day comment on the luxuries which were available in the San Francisco market. Even Helper says: "I may not be a competent judge, but this much I will say, that I have seen purer liquors, better segars, finer tobacco, truer guns and pistols, larger dirks and bowie knives, and prettier courtezans here, than in any other place I have ever visited; and it is my unbiased opinion that California can and does furnish the best bad things that are obtainable in America."[107]

Borthwick describes the fish, game, and fowl that were available:

> . . . The market was well supplied with every description of game — venison, elk, antelope, grizzly bear, and an infinite variety of wildfowl. The harbour abounded with fish, and the Sacramento river was full of splendid salmon, equal in flavour to those of the Scottish rivers . . .
>
> The wild geese and ducks were extremely numerous all round the shores of the bay,

> and many men, chiefly English and French, who would have scorned the idea of selling their game at home, here turned their sporting abilities to good account and made their guns a source of handsome profit. A Frenchman with whom I was acquainted killed fifteen hundred dollars' worth of game in two weeks.[108]

Mrs. Farnham, a New England woman much interested in reform movements, states that the population of San Francisco was more liberally supplied with "dramatic and musical entertainment than any other city of its size in America."[109] The *Alta* gives a history of the drama in San Francisco for the years 1850 and 1851. Before the first fire of 1851 (May 4) the chief theatres were the Jenny Lind, the Dramatic Museum (on California Street above Montgomery), a theatre owned by the French, and a fourth one, on Clay, which never attained popularity. In May, the Jenny Lind and the Dramatic Museum were burned. A second Jenny Lind Theatre was built on the site of the first, but this too was burned, on June 22. The same thing happened to the second Dramatic Museum.[110] The third Jenny Lind was built of stone. The editor of the *Alta,* a man who appears to have had good taste, commented that, among the narrow streets and the fortress-like buildings of dark brown with their small shuttered windows, the whiteness of the Jenny Lind was a relief, whatever one might think of the style of architecture. The third Jenny Lind opened on October 4, 1851.[111] Within, the general effect was of pink and gold. The advertisements pointed out that there was a gallery fitted up "in elegant style for respectable colored people."[112]

The American Theater was completed about two weeks after the Jenny Lind, and opened on October 20. It is characteristic of the time and the city that the building contract called for the theater to be ready for occupation within thirty days, and that the contract was carried out. On the thirty-second day after work was begun, a performance was given.[113] The house was made of brick and wood, it was packed with spectators, and it stood on newly made ground which was rather soft. That night the building sank two inches but no damage resulted.[114] There was also a Chinese theater, for which actors were brought from Canton.

The French company, which at first had given its performances in the Bella Union gambling saloon,[115] opened the New Adelphi on Dupont Street.[116] The French government agent, Saint-Amant, observes that the theaters were "rebuilt as if by enchantment... at the sound of the whirring of a machine. There is always money for that sort of enterprise, as it is with us in Paris."[117] As public favor began to shift from gambling houses to saloons, dramatic performances were added to the musical attractions of the drinking places, although music still had first place. An innovation reported by the *Alta* was the "grand Promenade Concert a la Julien" which was held on the opening night of the Athenaeum Saloon on Sacramento Street. (Seemingly, the plan was for the guests to stroll in the garden and buy drinks during the intermissions.) The paper said that "it was thronged with gentlemen during the entire evening, but as it was a new idea and the first night, but few females visited the saloon."[118] An advertisement of the same date (July 18) gave the news that some French woman had opened the Frascati, modeled exactly on the one in Paris. There were masked balls two or three times a week in the saloons or in the gambling houses. Holinski comments that about the only women seen there were those "engaged in the first profession of Saint Magdalen."[119]

In 1851 San Francisco had no public buildings of which it could be proud. The custom house (at the corner of Montgomery and California Streets) was destroyed by the fire of May 4. The deposits were saved, however, and their removal under armed guard to a temporary building was an occasion of great mirth to the populace because of the elaborate precautions taken.[120] The City Hall was burned in the fire of June 22. Public offices were then rented in different parts of the town, at the enormous cost of $40,000 a year.[121] Most of these were not only expensive but were unsuitable or inconvenient. Court was held in a filthy and ill-ventilated cellar. This cellar was also used as a jail and as police headquarters, and was called the City Station House.[122] The unfinished jail was such a flimsy affair that the *Alta* reported, on April 24, that eight men were able to escape in one month. The sheriff, Jack Hays, tried unsuccessfully to raise money by public subscription to finish the building, and then finished a part of it at his own expense.[123] Only a few prisoners could be housed there; the rest remained in the cellar. In May, according to the *Alta,* fourteen men escaped from this wretched room under the City Hall, where thirty-six prisoners were crowded together without any sanitation and fed on bread and water.[124] The whereabouts of Mrs. Biddy Gilligan seem to furnish a clue as to whether or not the jails were excessively crowded. Apparently she had to wait until there was room for her. An item in the *Alta* of July 17 stated that Mother Gilligan had been arrested fifty times within the last three months but since there was no place to put her she had been turned loose. On August 13, Mrs. Gilligan, "who has been up before the Recorder some forty or fifty times. . . had her rations stopped for a while yesterday." She was sent to jail for thirty days. By September 12 the prisons were full again and the *Alta* reported that Mrs. Gilligan "went on a bender as soon as she got out yesterday. She ought to be provided for."

By 1851 there were several well-defined foreign sections in San Francisco. There was the district called Little Chile; there was the French settlement along Dupont Street—although French influence was felt throughout the town; Washington, Clay, and Commercial Streets were largely Jewish (Borthwick refers to the Jews as nondescript individuals such as are seen in any sea-port town, but he does not state what country they came from); Sydneytown was low-class British; and the Chinese area was along Sacramento Street and in its neighborhood.

A collection of mean huts on the higher part of Stockton Street and in its vicinity Holinski calls "Little Chile."[125] Its boundaries, according to Bancroft, were Montgomery, Pacific, Jackson, and Kearny Streets.[126] Vallejo said that North Americans called all South Americans Chileans because the chief port of embarkation from South America was Valparaiso,[127] but the locality of any Spanish speaking group was frequently called "Little Chile." The district that Holinski visited was "South American in its morals, its costumes and its gaiety. Although the populace has not received a careful education," he says, "the people are distinguished by their exquisite politeness. . ."[128] The men wore the characteristic poncho, the women the flowing dresses and the bright shawls of South America. The men smoked cigarettes and the women, large cigars.[129] The populace seemed to be engaged in various dishonorable or trivial occupations, running fandango houses, monte rooms, and cock pits. Rosales, an educated Chilean who spent a few months in California, reports that during the years 1850 and 1853 great numbers of low-class women of bad character were imported from Chile.[130] Holinski says that the men ran monte tables at night and put in the day flying kites and betting on how high they would go,[131] and Mlle Loviot, a Frenchwoman who had a milinery shop, reports that there was a gay uproar every night from that section of the city.[132]

Mrs. Bates went to see a California-Mexican fandango and was delighted with the ease and grace of the dancers. She remarks that "the cigarita is not without its powers of fascination in the lips of a lovely woman, even rivalling the use of the fan as an appliance of coquetry."[133] Helper was not so easily charmed. In describing Mexican girls he declares that "their pumpkin hues and slovenly deportment could never awaken any admiration in me, even in California." Items that he objected to particularly were that they never wore bonnets but draped shawls over their heads instead, that they went without stockings, and that they had "rusty heels that look as if no ablution had been performed upon them for at least three moons."[134]

The French, reports Saint-Amant, were not considered foreigners.[135] The French immigration was so large that some parts of the city were completely French in appearance, the shops, restaurants, and estaminets being painted according to French taste and exhibiting French signs the very letters of which had a French look about them.[136] There were two French newspapers, the Adelphi theater was French,[137] and so were a number of other places of amusement, especially the big gambling house, the Polka.[138] The numerous cafes have already been mentioned. Some of these eating places were almost like clubs, and their patrons formed semi-military organizations.[139]

The *Alta* spoke of Washington, Clay, and Commercial Streets as being crowded with Jews, and remarked that it was no wonder that this gold-filled country should be a magnet to them.[140] They were usually in the ready-made clothing business, when, Helper's footnote adds, "they have not the means to set themselves up as pawnbrokers or note shavers." Helper disliked Jews, and asserts that "few of them have signs over their doors, as most men have who transact business upon their honor and reputation. Some of them buy and sell under assumed names; but in general their business is anonymously conducted."[141] The Jews had two synagogues, one instituted on April 1851, on Kearny Street between Pine and Bush; the other on the same street near Broadway.[142]

Better-class British people lived anywhere in the respectable parts of the city. The British convicts and criminal classes formed a compact group called "Sydneytown." This quarter lay around Clark's Point, along Broadway and Pacific Streets. Of it, Soulé asserts that "during the early hours of night...it was dangerous in the highest degree for a single person to venture within its bounds."[143] The low lodging houses, gambling and drinking places, were the headquarters of the criminals. The *Alta* of June 29 said the people in this district had "dirty and bloated faces marked with crime."

Saint-Amant says that the Chinese were the only people in California whose numbers could be counted accurately, because they came over in special ships, they were numbered like sheep, and they stayed in one place or went out in large companies.[144] In spite of this opinion, estimates of the Chinese population vary from Frignet's 10,000[145] throughout the state (doubled, he thinks, in 1851) to Helper's 40,000 (one-fourth or one-fifth of whom resided in San Francisco.[146] Sacramento Street was called a new Canton.[147] Marryat says that a part of Sacramento Street was entirely occupied by Chinese retail merchants, so that it was "similar in appearance to the Old Bazaar at Hong-Kong,"[148] with its sidewalks crammed with signs, peddlers, bales of goods, and crowds of Orientals. All during 1851 there were notices of ship arrivals bringing in new companies of Chinese.

The Chinese lived by the hundred in three-story houses, the *Alta* reported, and they had a sort of club or organization. They seemed to make money by shoemaking or washing.[149] The more prosperous ones were merchants.[150] Some of their other occupations were the catching and drying of fish and working as domestic servants. Helper says, "Though most of them are held as mere slaves by their wealthier countrymen, it goes desperately against the grain with them to take the situation of servants among white people, as they are constitutionally haughty and conceited and believe themselves to be superior to us in all respects.[151]

In August, two hundred new arrivals were reported camping on a vacant lot on Clay Street.[152] In September, it was erroneously rumored that the Chinese had cholera.[153] What they had was scurvy. The *Alta* explained that though the Chinese "were generally very cleanly in their habits" they had had no chance to keep clean, packed like "herrings in a box," as they were on the last ship, which carried five hundred of them.[154]

The Chinese had numerous gambling houses (the Occidentals said they played with buttons), a theater, a newspaper,[155] and a cemetery to which inquisitive white people followed them as to a show. The Chinese celebrated a great number of feast days and amused themselves and delighted the Occidentals with what must have been to these Orientals a new sport, horseback riding. Marryat says of them: "All the Chinamen of San Francisco are fond of riding out on these feast days, and in whatever costume they may be, they invariably pursue one mode of horsemanship, that is, to ride at full gallop, shouting or screaming, and then to tumble off into the sand or mud, the last act being involuntary..."[156]

Chinese women were imported and paraded through the streets in magnificent costumes. The *Alta,* reporting such an exhibition, went into detail about one beautiful suit worn by a girl.[157] One Chinese woman mentioned in nearly every traveler's book—one who was a frequent visitor to the Recorder's Court—was Atoy.[158] Some of her rivals in business, or some respectable merchants, it is not clear which, petitioned the Vigilance Committee to deport her, but the reply was that if Atoy were deported for her manner of life a thousand women of other nationalities would also have to be sent out. This answer Holinski says pleased the Chinese greatly because of its concession of equality.[159]

The city was still new enough for a person's race or section to be judged from his clothes unless he wore miner's garb. The Chinese were an exception to this statement. The merchants, whom the Californians of that day called "mandarins," wore bright silks; the laboring classes were as yet sharply distinguished from them by their cheap cotton garments, blue or black, because most of the workers had just arrived. Helper describes the appearance of the Chinese thus:

> Notwithstanding he carries it [his pigtail] behind him, it is his character — the badge of his respectability; and Boodh or Josh alone could prevail upon him to cut it off. His coat, which is fashioned very much like a pea-jacket, is made of crow-colored cotton cloth, of flimsy texture, and buttons loosely around him as low as convenience will permit. His pantaloons, the legs of which are a trifle smaller than a medium-sized meal-bag, are composed of the same stuff as his coat, and terminate at about the middle of his shins. His shoes or sandals — minus socks, for he never wears any — are hewn out of solid wood, and taper towards the toe nearly to a sharp point . . . some of the wealthier classes . . . wear silk and satin goods, instead of cotton fabrics.[160]

When the Chinese got together enough money to buy new clothes, they did much to blot out class distinctions by buying western clothes. Helper errs in his assumption that the pigtail was sacred to all Chinese. Less conservative Chinese, Marryat observed, did not place themselves outside the pale by cutting their hair, wearing European costume, patent leather shoes, and gold watch chains, although he thinks they made a mistake in depriving themselves of their picturesque costumes which gave them such a deceptively benevolent expression, and revealing the "small cunning-looking eyes and low forehead, which in the other garb escaped notice."[161] South Americans and Mexicans retained their national costumes. Mexican dress was distinguished by "the bright-coloured serape," "rows of silver buttons...silver-handled bowie knife, in the stamped leather leggins," and split trousers.[162] There must still have been a demand for such clothes toward the end of the year, for there is an advertisement of a raffle of a five-thousand dollar Mexican saddle with a matching costume, all heavily trimmed with silver.[163] Englishmen were seen in the shooting-coat style of dress, down-east Yankees in black dress coats, black pantaloons, and black satin waistcoats; New Yorkers, Southerners, and Frenchmen wore Parisian styles.[164] Miners' costumes with "pistols and knives usually worn in the belt at the back" afforded no clue to anything but a man's occupation and his ability to grow whiskers. A sentimental French observer thought that because Negroes were cut off from all the privileges and responsibilities of white people, they spent their energy on love of finery, and mentions their "cravats of the most dazzling colors, fingers loaded with rings, and dress of the delicate tints and textures which contrast ridiculously with the ebon hue of the wearers..." A Negro "is sure to be absorbed in the perfection of his boots and his gloves..."[165]

Borthwick thought that "the few ladies who were already in San Francisco, very naturally avoided appearing in public; but numbers of female toilettes, of the most extravagantly rich and gorgeous materials, swept the muddy streets, and added not a little to the incongruous variety of the scene."[166] If the number of items in the *Alta* can be taken as a basis for judgment, the interest in women's clothes during the year rivalled the interest in the Vigilance Committee's activities.

One item of dress that was noticed by a number of observers was jewelry, which was so generally worn that one person said that he would feel conspicuous without any.[167] The *Alta*, stating a hope rather than a fact, remarked:

> Gone are the big specimen days, and lost is the fashion or passion (we hardly know which) for specimen rings, pins, and personal ornaments — the days in which men bedecked themselves with glittering treasures from the native diggings of California. Two-ounce rings, and massive gold "log chains" seem to have gone out of "style." Occasionally, though, one may encounter some ponderous specimen article of jewelry walking through our streets.

The news item went on to describe a piece of jewelry which had just been made for a ship captain. It was a solid gold ring, set about "in a beautiful manner with specimens and enclosing beneath a crest-shapen lid, surmounted with choice specimens, four qualities of 'dust' each in a separate compartment, and seen beneath a glass covering." The weight of this wonder was four ounces.[168] Another work of art was a chain with its links fashioned to "represent limbs, branches, and stumps of trees, and upon them are affixed various animals pursued by dogs of different breeds." The price was three hundred dollars.[169] Borthwick reports that jewelers' shops were very numerous and that they displayed immense gold watches, huge gold rings and chains, along with "gold-headed canes, and diamond pins and brooches of a most formidable size.[170]

This same traveler thought that almost every man after a short residence in California became changed to some extent in his outward appearance. Everyone (with the exception of the Jews), he believed, acquired "a certain California air, which would have made them remarkable in whatever part of the world they came from." In the appearance of the Jews, however, "there was nothing whatever...suggestive of California; they were exactly the same...slip-shod individuals that one sees in every seaport town."[171] Unfortunately, Borthwick gives no particulars of the "California look."

Helper, more considerate of his readers, reports that "degradation, profligacy and vice confront us at every step. Men are passing to and fro with haggard visages and head declined, muttering to themselves, and looking as hungry and ferocious as the prowling beasts of an Asiatic jungle." His description of the boys in the streets shows little hope for the next generation:

> ... Before us on either side, we see groups of boys, clad in slouched hats, dirty shirts, ragged pants, and shabby shoes, without socks, who have no regular business ... If we were near enough we should probably hear the right hand party criticising Madame Anna Thillon's last performance of the opera La Somnambula, or of the Daughter of the Regiment; and those on the left giving their opinions upon the merits of Madame Anna Bishop's last oratorio or ballad concert...They rally together, and entering the nearest groggery, one calls for a brandy smash, another for a whiskey punch, a third for a gin cocktail, and so on, until all are served. Then, bowing to each other, they drink to the prosperity of Young America, to which school they all belong; and dashing their glasses upon the counter with as hideous and vociferous anathemas as ever passed the lips of an East India pirate, they separate, segar in mouth, and return to their respective avocations.[172]

Numbers of new arrivals hurried away to the mines. Many of the French, and nearly all the Chinese were brought in by immigration companies and went in groups. Borthwick describes them as follows:

> Troops of newly arrived Frenchmen marched along, *en route* for the mines, staggering under their equipment of knapsacks, shovels, picks, tin wash-bowls, pistols, knives, swords, and double-barrel guns – their blankets slung over their shoulders, and their persons hung around with tin cups, frying pans, coffee-pots, and other culinary utensils, with perhaps a hatchet and a spare pair of boots. Crowds of Chinamen were also to be seen, bound for the diggings, under gigantic basket-hats, each man with a bamboo laid across his shoulders, from both ends of which were suspended a higgledy-piggledy collection of mining tools, Chinese baskets and boxes, immense boots, and a variety of Chinese "fixins" ... [173]

Forty men having their boots blacked at the same time in the most public part of the city, with as many more prospective customers waiting for this service, was a sight that especially impressed the British. Holinski says that the custom was introduced from Paris, and that the business was in the hands of the French in 1851. It began on the long steps in front of the gambling saloons, the first equipment being merely a little box on which the customer placed one foot and then the other. With the innovation of arm chairs, the time the customer had to wait was halved by having two bootblacks work simultaneously on the same man. Soon after this, newspapers were given to the patrons to keep them entertained, and finally the chairs were moved into a long corridor where a gentleman could read his paper or admire himself in the mirrors on the opposite wall, as he chose. The regular charge was twenty-five cents, and the bootblacks made from one dollar and a half on week days to four or five on Sundays. They were usually Frenchmen who lacked the physical strength to do very hard manual labor, but occasionally a man of another nationality who was trying to accumulate money enough to get to the mines served as bootblack for a short while.[174]

The velvet chairs of the "shaving saloons," as Marryat calls them, were, he thought, characteristic of San Francisco's demand for "gorgeous decoration." Since people had to pay so much for the necessities of life they demanded that velvet and gilt work be thrown into the bargain. Marryat's barber, a quiet fellow, suddenly darted off from his customer to talk to a passer-by about sugar and cigars.[175] Apparently the barber was also a commission merchant. Barber shops were numerous. The fashion demanded whiskers and, as an advertisement of the day pointed out, "gentlemen's beards must have perfect care to be attractive."[176] Even more than perfect care was offered, for one sign claimed "Physiognomical Hair Cutting and Extatic Shaving."[177] Barber shops and bath houses were sometimes combined, and in addition they sold linen. The *Alta* pointed out from time to time that San Francisco was a dirty city but that colored shirts no longer need be worn, since the price of laundry had dropped to five dollars a dozen, and no one need go dirty since the cost of baths had come down to only a dollar and a half, or even a dollar.[178]

The streets were full of thimble riggers, auction sales, and street vendors.[179] Borthwick says that to a cursory visitor auction sales and gambling would appear to be the two principal features of the city.[180] Street gambling was of various kinds, usually A.B.C. or French monte. The latter game was often operated by boys. Usually the dupes kept quiet, but once or twice a week cases came up in the Recorder's Court, where sometimes the victims got their money back but became the butt of newspaper humor.[181] In one such case the fellow who had decoyed a miner into a poker game was held for grand larceny because a deck of his cards contained five kings.[182]

Occasionally in the newspapers appeared complaints of the uproar in the streets caused by the auctions. Auger reports that "morning and evening a frightful din of bells mixed with the beating of drums invites the passer-by into auctions." All sorts of things were sold in the streets: goods of commission merchants, goods held for custom duties, or goods of merchants pressed for cash. To the Frenchman an original feature was the sale of locked suitcases which nearly always proved to be worthless, but which sold for high prices.[183]

The British had the impression that anybody who had anything whatever to sell went out into the streets and began to shout. They thought that, in the dry season at least, it would have been possible for a person to live entirely out of doors. Helper says that dozens of penniless vagabonds slept on the hay piled on the wharves.[184] Even liquor was peddled.[185] Walking grog shops, in the persons of Frenchmen with kegs supported by shoulder straps and carried under the arm, dealt out what they called brandy and the populace called "Jersey lightning," from tin cups which, when off duty, hung from the Frenchmen's buttons.[186]

The carriages for hire were the finest in the world, so the British reported. These vehicles were lined with silk, polished brightly, and drawn by magnificent horses in harness "which, like the carriage, was loaded with silver." The lowest charge for a ride was five dollars, which was not exorbitant when it is considered that the driver received two or three hundred dollars a month and that the horses were worth from a thousand to fifteen hundred dollars each.[187] For the less prosperous citizen there were hacks—common carriages carrying a number of passengers who were going in the same direction. The person paid according to the length of the ride; the busses had a fixed route. Busses ran regularly on the planked toll road to the Mission (which by 1851 had become an amusement district). The threat of a bus strike on the Fourth of July has a very modern sound until it is noted that the dispute was with the road owners over tolls and was not a matter of wages.[188] The toll charge was fifty cents. Only funerals went over the road without charge.[189] Foreigners were indignant at the way people drove through the streets. Auger says that an American dray driver stood up in his cart like a Roman in his chariot. He ran his horses at full speed through the crowd, and so accustomed was every person to looking out for himself that he jumped right or left with hardly an interruption in his conversation, "a form of gymnastics learned very quickly in a country where there is no other protection than a person's own care."[190] The Frenchman was mistaken. There was really a rather spasmodic and casual attempt made to enforce the laws against "furious driving," cases of which appeared almost every day in the Recorder's Court. One "Choo Choo, a Chinaman," was fined twenty dollars for this offense,[191] but some other man equally guilty was released because it could not be proved that he broke the law with deliberate intention.[192] Many of the fine draft and saddle horses were imported from Sydney. An Englishman warned his countrymen not to be condescending to a man just because the man drove a cart. The teamster was nearly always the owner of his business, which often represented a respectable investment, and he might be from any class of society.[193] The *Alta* congratulated the "carmen" on their fine horses, "a great improvement over eighteen months ago."[194]

Again and again toward the close of 1851 summaries of progress were found in the newspapers. Sometimes there were lists of new streets or descriptions of new buildings or of new sections of the city. Of more interest are the changes which the people noted in the social organization and the fact that they recognized the year as the dividing line between the mining camp period and the urban history of the town. The village and gold rush port eras were ended. Writers of the day emphatically declared that San Francisco was a city, whatever the number of its inhabitants. They pointed out that repeated destructions by fire had wiped out nearly all traces of former settlement and that San Francisco had not followed the usual pattern of development from settlement to village, village to town and town to city After the sixth burning of the city in June, the people ended the crimes of the arsonists by means of the first Vigilance Committee. Public opinion was finally roused by the outrages and by the facts that investments were too large and the advantages offered to business by law enforcement were too great to allow criminals to continue unchecked.

By 1851 placer mining had become relatively unimportant. Because the quartz extraction process required equipment and capital which were beyond the means of the individual miner, even the mining industry came to be centered in San Francisco. The act of the state legislature in 1851 designed to clear up land titles and the importation of the steam shovel which made beach and water lots usable as sites for business houses promised great fortunes to real estate owners. With the curbing of crime and the acceptance of the permanence of the city the whole social structure changed. Many men sent for their families, public schools were established by the city government, churches and charitable institutions were strengthened, and libraries were founded this year. Even amusements reflected the more staid community order.

Not all the innovations pleased everybody. There were complaints that vice had merely become less open and hypocrisy more widespread.[195] There were frequent nostalgic references (particularly by members of the six-months-old Society of California Pioneers) to the "good old days" of one or two years before. The report was that back in 1849 men were honest; there was no crime and none of the sharp dealing and mad scramble for money which now, in 1851, was so apparent.[196] When the daily accounts of the *Alta* (of which Soulé was one of the editors) are compared with Soulé's reminiscences written only three years later, it can be seen that 1851 has been given the same kind of gilding by later writers that the authors of 1851 laid over 1849. In 1851 itself, the newspapers and travelers pictured a life of acute discomfort amid a grotesque mixture of squalid and ornate surroundings. They gave a lively description of a social organization which was really a city sprung (despite a sharp growing pain here and there) to metropolitan status without village background—an absolutely new city combining much of the frontier equality of opportunity with an urban spirit.

NOTES

1. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco; Containing a Summary of the History of the First Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present Condition of California, and a Complete History of All the Important Events Connected with Its Great City: to Which Are Added Biographical Memoirs of Some Prominent Citizens* (New York, 1855), p. 357. Cited hereafter as *Annals.*

2. Eduard Auger, *Voyage en Californie* (Paris, 1854) p. 174. Mrs. D. B. Bates, *Incidents on Land and Water or Four Years on the Pacific Coast, Being a Narrative of the Burning of the Ships Humayoon and Fanchon, together with Many Startling and Interesting Adventures on Sea and on Land* (Boston, 1860), p. 96.

3. Auger, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

4. Bates, *op cit.*, p. 96.

5. Pierre Charles de Saint-Amant, *Voyages en Californie et dans L'Oregon* (Paris, 1854), p. 107.

6. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

7. Alexandre Holinski, *La Californie et les routes interocéaniques* (Bruxelles, 1853), p. 102. Holinski wrote of conditions in September 1851.

8. *Annals*, p. 355.

9. Bates, *loc. cit.*

10. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857), p. 42.

11. *Daily Alta California*, July 19, 1851. Cited hereafter as *Alta.*

12. The *Niantic* and the *Apollo* were two of the ships. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

13. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

14. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

15. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

16. *Annals*, p. 421.

17. Samuel Francis Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills or Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (New York, 1855), p. 167.

18. *Alta*, July 17, 1851.

19. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1851.

20. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1851.

21. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

22. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

23. Pringle Shaw, *Ramblings in California; Containing a Description of the Country, Life at the Mines, State of Society, &c Interspersed with Characteristic Anecdotes, and Sketches from Life . . .* (Toronto, *ca.* 1860), p. 69.

24. Ernest Frignet, *La Californie, Histoire, Organization Politique et Administrative, Legislation, Description physique et geologique, Agriculture–Industrie–Commerce* (Paris, 1866), p. 151.

25. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

26. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

27. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

28. Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality versus Fiction* (Baltimore, 1855), p. 69.

29. *Alta*, July 7, 1851.

30. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1851.

31. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1851.

32. *Alta*, September 24, 1851.

33. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

35. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 125; Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
37. *Alta*, July 28, 1851.
38. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1851.
39. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1851.
40. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1851.
41. Frederick Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels: Rio de Janeiro—Buenos Ayres—Ride Through the Pampas—Winter Journey across the Cordilleras—Chili—Valparaiso—California and the Gold Fields*, translated from the German (London and Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 280-81.
42. *Alta*, December 5, 1851.
43. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1851.
44. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
45. *Alta*, November 10, 1851.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
48. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
49. *Alta*, July 17, 1851.
50. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
51. *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
52. *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
53. *Alta*, July 18, 1851.
54. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1851.
55. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1851.
56. Helper, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
57. *Alta*, November 27, 1851.
58. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1851.
59. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1851.
60. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 316. The newspaper was the San Francisco *Herald*, July 1, 1851.
61. *Alta*, July 2, 1851.
62. *Annals*, pp. 670-72.
63. *Alta*, August 4, 1851.
64. *Annals*, p. 343.
65. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Borthwick thought that this was the only old adobe, but there was another on Dupont Street.
66. Charles G. Plummer to F. Plummer, San Francisco, March 14, 1851 (MS in Huntington Library, San Marino, California).
67. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
68. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
70. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
71. Plummer, *op. cit.*
72. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
73. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
74. Samuel F. Holbrook, *Three Score Years: An Autobiography Containing Incidents of Voyages and Travels, Including Six Years in a Man-of-War...Two Years in California ...* (Boston, 1857), p. 482.
75. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 70; Auger, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

78. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

79. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

80. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

81. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

82. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

83. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

84. Joseph Augustine Benton, *The California Pilgrim: a Series of Lectures* (San Francisco, 1853), p. 53.

85. Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851: a Study of Social Control on the California Frontier in the Days of the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1921), p. 367.

86. Helper, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

88. *Alta*, September 18, 1851.

89. *Ibid.*, December 19, 22, 1851.

90. *Alta*, July 1, 1851.

91. Luther Melancthon Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels in South America, Mexico and California* (New York, 1860), p. 219.

92. *Annals*, p. 643.

93. *Op. cit.*, p. 649.

94. *Op. cit.*, p. 648.

95. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

96. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

97. *Annals*, p. 648.

98. Henry Vere Huntley, *California: Its Gold and Its Inhabitants* (London, 1856), I, 218.

99. Nelson Kingsley, "Diary of Nelson Kingsley, a California Argonaut of 1849," *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (Berkeley, 1913-14), III, 177.

100. Plummer, *op. cit.*

101. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 104. (A *piastre* is used elsewhere in his narrative as the equivalent of a dollar.)

102. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

103. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

104. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

105. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

106. *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

107. Helper, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

108. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

109. Eliza W. Farnham, *California, In-doors and Out: or How We Farm, Mine, and Live Generally in the Golden State* (New York, 1856), p. 282.

110. *Alta*, October 24, 1851.

111. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1851.

112. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1851.

113. Gerstäcker, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

114. *Alta*, October 21, 1851.

115. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

116. *Alta*, October 24, 1851.

117. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

118. *Alta*, July 18, 1851.

119. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

120. *Annals*, p. 334.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

122. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 169; *Alta,* April 24, 1851.

123. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

124. *Alta,* May 9, 1851.

125. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

126. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), XXXV, 261.

127. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "What the Gold Rush Brought to California," in Valeska Bari (comp.), *The Course of Empire: First Hand Accounts of California in the Gold Rush of '49* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1931), p. 52.

128. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

129. *Loc. cit.*

130. Vicente Perez Rosales, *Recuerdos del Pasado* (Santiago de Chile, 1910), p. 365.

131. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

132. Fanny Loviot (Amelia B. Edwards, trans.), "A Lady's Captivity Among the Chinese Pirates in the Chinese Seas," *Magazine of History,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, Extra No. 156 (1930), pp. 172-73.

133. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

134. Helper, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.

135. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

136. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

137. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 463.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

140. *Alta,* December 11, 1851.

141. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

142. *Alta,* December 11, 1851.

143. *Annals,* p. 566.

144. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

145. Frignet, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

146. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

147. Loviot, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

148. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

149. *Alta,* July 7, 1851.

150. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

151. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

152. *Alta,* August 22, 1851.

153. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1851.

154. *Alta,* September 18, 1851.

155. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

156. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

157. *Alta,* July 1, 1851.

158. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1851.

159. Holinski, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

160. Helper, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

161. Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

162. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

163. *Alta,* October 14, 1851.

164. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

165. Loviot, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

166. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

167. Elisha Smith Capron, *History of California, from Its Discovery to the Present Time; Comprising also a Full Description of Its Climate, Surface, Soil, Rivers, Towns, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, State of Its Society, Agriculture, Commerce, Mines, Mining, with a Journal of the Voyage from New York via Nicaragua, to San Francisco, and Back, via Panama* (Boston, 1854), p. 162.

168. *Alta,* November 25, 1851.

169. *Ibid.,* August 6, 1851.

170. Borthwick, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

171. *Ibid.,* pp. 117-18.

172. Helper, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

173. Borthwick, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

174. Holinski, *op. cit.,* p. 115.

175. Marryat, *op. cit.,* p. 306-10.

176. Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Portsmouth Plaza, The Cradle of San Francisco* (San Francisco: printed by John Henry Nash, 1932), p. 225.

177. *Alta,* November 2, 1851.

178. *Ibid.,* November 2, 1851.

179. Borthwick, *op. cit.,* pp. 51-53.

180. *Ibid.,* p. 57.

181. *Alta,* November 21, 1851.

182. *Ibid.,* November 6, 1851.

183. Auger, *op. cit.,* p. 189.

184. Helper, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

185. Saint-Amant, *op. cit.,* p. 452.

186. Phillips, *op. cit.,* p. 226.

187. Borthwick, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

188. *Alta,* July 3, 1851.

189. James Woods, *Recollections of Pioneer Work in California* (San Francisco, 1878), p. 147.

190. Auger, *op. cit.,* p. 177.

191. *Alta,* September 12, 1851.

192. *Ibid.,* August 10, 1851.

193. Marryat, *op. cit.,* p. 318.

194. *Alta,* July 10, 1851.

195. *Annals,* pp. 423, 654.

196. *Alta,* January 3, 1851.

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Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

Chevigny, Hector

Lord of Alaska; Baranov and the Russian Adventure. New York: The Viking Press, 1942. 320 pp. Map on lining papers. $3.00.

Delkin, James Ladd, ed.

Flavor of San Francisco, a Guide to "The City." Stanford University: James Ladd Delkin, 1943. 130 pp., illus. and maps. $1.25.

Farquhar, Francis P.

Jedediah Smith and the First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada, reprinted from the Sierra Club *Bulletin*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, June, 1943.

Harlow, Alvin F.

Bret Harte of the Old West. Illustrated by Hamilton Greene. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., c. 1943. ix + 307 pp., illus. $2.50. (Juvenile.)

Hower, Ralph M.

History of Macy's of New York, 1858-1919. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943. xxvii + 500 pp., illus. $3.75.

Pp. 12-15 tell of the experiences of the founder of the firm, Rowland Hussey Macy, in California, 1849-50.

Lomax, Alfred L.

Pioneer Woolen Mills in Oregon, History of Wool and the Woolen Textile Industry in Oregon, 1811-1875. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1941. 312 pp., front., illus. $2.50.

Contains references to the sheep raising industry of California.

C. K. McClatchy Senior High School, The Nugget Editions Club

Early Day Romances, Sutter's Fort, 1847-1848, Sacramento: The Nugget Press, 1943. 61 pp., illus.

Plumbe, John

A Faithful Translation of the Papers Respecting the Grant Made by Governor Alvarado to John A. Sutter, reprinted from the original pamphlet published in 1850, with an introduction by Neal Harlow. Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1942. xxi + 13 + [iii] pp., map.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

The Pacific Historical Review

Vol. XII, No. 2 (June 1943) contains: "James Buchanan and Some Far Western Leaders, 1860-1861, by Philip G. Auchampaugh, and "Ranchero [José María Verdugo], by Herbert O. Brayer.

Westways

Vol. XXXV, No. 8, Pt. 2 (August 1943) contains "The Last Call," by Dolores Waldorf.

Yosemite Nature Notes

Vol. XXII, No. 8 (August 1943) contains: "Influence of Lewis and Clark in Yosemite," by Ernest A. Payne, and a continuation of "Development of Transportation to Yosemite, Part II, The Era of Wheels, by C. Frank Brockman.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

May 16, 1943, to September 1, 1943

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From BINFORDS & MORT, PUBLISHERS–Lomax, Alfred L., *Pioneer Woolen Mills in Oregon, History of Wool and the Woolen Textile Industry in Oregon, 1811-1875,* Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort [1941].

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From MR. DARRELL DALEY–*Camp Joseph H. Pendleton, Formerly Rancho Santa Margarita* [1943].

From MR. HARRY HEWLETT–Bandini, Helen Elliott, *History of California,* New York [1908]; Deering, James H., ed., *The Penal Code of the State of California...,* San Francisco, 1909; *idem, The Political Code of...California...,* San Francisco, 1909; *idem, Codes and General Laws of 1909, Consolidated Supplement...,* San Francisco, 1913; and others.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE–Barker, Eric Wilson, *The Planetary Heart,* Mill Valley: The Wings Press, 1942; Coblentz, Stanton A., *Armageddon,* Mill Valley: The Wings Press, 1943; *idem, Senator Goose and Other Rhymes,* Mill Valley: The Wings Press, 1940; Coolidge, Helen, *With Unclipped Wings,* Carmel-By-the-Sea; The Carmel Pine Cone Press [1941]; De Arana, Juanita, *Fairy Steel,* West Los Angeles: Wagon & Star, 1941; Hill, Frank Ernest, *The Westward Star,* New York: The John Day Company [1934]; Jordan, David Starr, *To Barbara and Other Verses,* Priv. prtd., 1929; Lehmer, Derrick Norman, *Fightery Dick and Other Poems...,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936; Marlatt, Jean Steele, *Westward to Eden, a Collection of Poems,* New York: House of Field, Inc., 1940; Russ, Virginia, *Salt and Seeds,* San Leandro: The Greater West Publishing Company [1941]; Wilson, Nell Griffith, *Deeper Harvest, Gleanings from the Valley of the Moon,* Atlanta: Emory University, 1936; and others.

From GEORGE H. KRESS, M.D.–Kress, George H., *A History of the Medical Profession of Southern California,* Los Angeles, 1910.

From MRS. ESTHER S. LAWLOR and THE CENTURY CLUB–Muir, John, ed., *Picturesque California* . . . San Francisco, 1888, 9 vols.

From MR. AUGUSTIN S. MACDONALD–Kent, William, *Reminiscences of Outdoor Life,* San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1929; Vecki G., *Prevention of Premature Senility,* Boston: The Stratford Company [1931].

From C. K. McCLATCHY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL–The Nugget Editions Club of C. K. McClatchy Senior High School, *Early Day Romances, Sutter's Fort 1847-1848,* Sacramento: The Nugget Press, 1943.

From SAN FRANCISCO HOUSING AUTHORITY–*Annual Reports:* Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, 1940-1943, San Francisco: Housing Authority of the City and County of San Francisco [1940-43].

From VON BOECKMANN-JONES COMPANY, PUBLISHERS – Castañeda, Carlos E., *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, The Mission Era: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780-1810.* Vol. V, Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1942.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER – Baker, George M., *Nevada: or, The Lost Mine,* *a Drama in Three Acts,* Boston, 1882. Janin, Henry, *Report upon the Sierra Buttes Gold Quartz Mines, Sierra County, California,* San Francisco: E. Bosqui & Co., 1869.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS – Aitken, Frank W. and Hilton, Edward, *A History of the Earthquake and Fire in San Francisco . . .* San Francisco, 1906; [Barr, James A. and Cumming, Joseph M.], *The Legacy of the Exposition . . .* San Francisco, 1916; Bierce, Ambrose, *The Collected Works of Ambrose Bierce,* Vol. V, New York & Washington, 1911; Cousin Alice, *All's Not Gold that Glitters, or, The Young Californian,* New York; D. Appleton & Company, 1859; Croasdaile, Henry E., *Scenes on Pacific Shores . . .,* London, 1873; James, George Wharton, *Fremont in California,* Los Angeles, 1903; [McDevitt, William], *From Lone Mountain to Twin Peaks, in Memory of Richard Realf,* San Francisco, 1918; Mighels, Ella Sterling, *Fairy Tale of the White Man Told from the Gates of Sunset,* San Francisco, 1915; Morris, Mrs. James Edwin, *A Pacific Coast Vacation,* London [1901]; Neate, John, *Poems . . .,* San Francisco [1911]; Nye, Stephen G., *Addresses and Letters of Travel,* San Francisco, 1908; [Southern Pacific Company], *Big Trees of California,* n.p., 1914; Taylor, Edward Robeson, *War Sonnets,* San Francisco [1915]; Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest . . .,* Chicago, 1904; Truesdell, Amelia Woodward, *Francisca Reina,* Boston, 1908; U. S. Work Projects Administration, *Almanac for Thirty-Niners,* Stanford University: James Ladd Delkin [1938]; University of California, *Graduates, 1864-1905,* Berkeley, 1905.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

From MR. A. PORTER ROBINSON – Robinson, Alfred, [Journals]: Vol. I: "Journal of a Voyage from Boston to North West Coast in the Ship *Brookline* . . . August 24, 1828 – February 1829," containing also [Journal of a Voyage from Santa Barbara to Boston, December 25, 1837 – March 6, 1838] and [Poem dedicated to Anita Robinson]; Vol. II: "Journal on the Coast of California, on Board of Ship *Brookline,* Year 1829," which also contains copies of letters written by Robinson from Santa Barbara to Messrs. Bryant & Sturges, Messrs. Russell, & Co., Mr. Henry A, Peirce, Mr. William A. Gale, and Messrs. Alsop & Co., July 31, 1831 – December 18, 1835, and invoices, also an unfinished drama entitled "The Doctor," an ink and water color drawing of the ship *Brookline,* an unfinished water color and pencil sketch of Monterey, and several small sketches of rocks and land formations; Passport issued by Edward Everett to Alfred Robinson December 31, 1839.

From MR. JACK WOLFF – Deed of A. Zellerbach and Henry Hayes to William I. Tisdale given at Moore's Flat, October 2, 1865, for property situated at Moore's Flat Woolsey's Flat and Orleans Flat.

PICTURES

From MR. EDWARD O. ALLEN – Group photograph, Interior of the Anglo-Californian Bank, April 2, 1886.

From MRS. GUY J. GIFFEN – 5 copies of photographs taken in 1882 of Fort Winfield Scott (2 views), Cliff House, Guns at the Presidio of San Francisco; John Read's sawmill in Mill Valley.

From GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D. – Group photograph of Governor Newton Booth and his staff.

From MR. AUGUSTIN S. MACDONALD – 2 photographs: Mary Anderson and Maude Adams.

From MR. A. PORTER ROBINSON – 2 oil portraits of Horace Hawes and Mrs. Horace Hawes, painted by Hiram R. Bloomer, 1872 (framed).

From MR. JACK WOLFF – Colored portrait of General William T. Sherman; Pictorial supplement of San Francisco News Letter, 1888; and others.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS – 6 copies of lithographs: "Corner of Montgomery and California Streets, San Francisco, 1853"; "Mission Dolores, San Francisco, 1860"; "View of the Last Great Conflagration in San Francisco on the 22nd of June, 1851"; "View of Cunningham Wharf, San Francisco"; "Sansome Street, San Francisco, 1850"; "Vue de San-Francisco"; Midwinter International Exposition, San Francisco, Cal., 1894, Souvenir album of views.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. HARRY HEWLETT – Scrapbook of newspaper clippings, 1873.

From MRS. ALFRED MURPHY – Pair of spectacles found in Siskiyou County.

From MR. A. PORTER ROBINSON – Horace Hawes, comp., Scrapbook of newspaper clippings, 1855-56.

From MR. ARCHIBALD J. TREAT – Letter-head of the San Francisco County Clerk, 190–.

From MR. D. Q. TROY – Letter-head of Mammoth Grove Hotel, J. L. Sperry, Manager, 189–.

From MR. JACK WOLFF – Many relics from the mining regions of northern California.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS – Sheet music: "Back to Market Street"; and other items.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Barrows, Gen. David P.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Beales, Benjamin B.	Palo Alto, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Beatty, Mrs. J. William	San Mateo, Calif.	Dr. George D. Lyman
Buckner, Mrs. Leona K.	Lemoore, Calif.	Mrs. Guy J. Giffen
Chase, Harold S.	Santa Barbara, Calif.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Chico State College	Chico, California	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Cook, John Hutchinson	Trenton, N. J.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Dickson, Edward A.	Los Angeles	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Foote, Francis S.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Gerhard, George W.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Greenberg, Stuart N.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Guilfoil, Mrs. James	San Francisco	Mrs. Laura Bride Powers
Hanlon, M. E.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Hardy-Halsey, Mrs. E. L.	Hanford, Calif.	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Huggins, Dr. Joseph	Downingtown, Pa.	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Huggins, Joseph W.	San Francisco	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Humphreys, Lt. j.g. Leland	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Jenkins, Mrs. James	San Francisco	Dr. George D. Lyman
Mott-Smith, Mrs. Ernest A.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Olsen, Miss Mildred N.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Oregon State Library	Salem, Oregon	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Phipps, Donald M.	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
Potter, Mrs. David	San Francisco	Dr. George D. Lyman
Sherman, Lt. Allen B.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
University of Hawaii	Honolulu, T. H.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Zangerle, Albert F.	Sacramento, Calif.	Miss Caroline Wenzel

In Memoriam

ROBERT BURNS MOTHERWELL II

1884-1943

On August 29 Robert Burns Motherwell II passed away after a brief illness.

Mr. Motherwell was born on November 22, 1884, in Logan, Ohio, and received most of his education in that State. He was a graduate of Western Reserve University, in Cleveland, and subsequently engaged in the study of law at the University of Oregon.

At the age of twenty-six he determined to enter the banking field. For the next seven years he learned the rudiments of his profession and gained his first banking training in a small bank in Aberdeen, Washington, and then for two years broadened his experience as deputy bank commissioner for the State of Washington.

In 1919 the Federal Reserve System availed itself of Mr. Motherwell's undoubted talents as a banker and he served it successively, first as assistant chief examiner of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, then as manager of the Salt Lake Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank, and finally as managing director of the Los Angeles Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank.

In 1927 he was called as a vice-president to Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co. and in 1935 was made its president, continuing in that office to the time of his death. He absorbed the traditions of this institution whose history, over its life of over ninety years, is closely connected with much of the history of this State.

He took great interest and pride in the historical collection which the Bank maintains and devoted many of his leisure hours to reading the numerous books on California and the West which have appeared in recent years. Outside of his profession no other subject so fully engaged his attention and afforded him so much pleasure.

Mr. Motherwell ranked high with his fellow bankers, not only for his thorough understanding of the purposes and techniques of banking and his strict adherence to the high ethical standards which govern its relations to the public, but also for his cheerful, kindly disposition, his splendid personal traits of character, and his wholehearted and conscientious support of everything which he regarded as worthwhile in the communal life of San Francisco. His death came as a shock to a host of devoted friends.

Mr. Motherwell is survived by his widow, Margaret Hogan Motherwell, a son, Robert Burns Motherwell III, and a daughter, Mrs. Mary Stuart Bosschart.

SIDNEY M. EHRMAN

VERA MAE SHAFFORD SHARRITT

1911-1942

With the death on July 26, 1943, of Mrs. Vera May Shafford Sharritt, the Los Angeles schools lost a promising young educator and author. Born on July 7, 1911, at Rocky Ford, Colorado, she was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Shafford.

She obtained her teachers' training at La Verne College, Los Angeles County, and for ten years taught school in the Los Angeles city school district. She was the author of *Land of Mexico* and of various compilations on the missions of California, boats, etc., all of which are widely used in the public schools of California. She was a member of the Los Angeles League of Western Writers, and of our Society during the past three years. She is survived by her mother, Mrs. Alta Jones, and her husband, Charles E. Sharritt, executive assistant to Mayor Bowron of Los Angeles and former editor of the State Bar *Journal*.

JEANNE SKINNER VAN NOSTRAND

ALBERT FREDERICK ZANGERLE

1891-1943

Albert F. Zangerle, a newly elected member of this Society, died in Sacramento on August 29, 1943. Mr. Zangerle was born in Sacramento on December 30, 1891, the son of Albert Zangerle and Louise Hertner Zangerle. He served as a chief petty officer aboard the famous U.S.S. *Bear* during World War No. 1. After the war, he became a law clerk in the office of the attorney general. He was appointed deputy attorney general of the State of California in 1930 and served in that capacity under Ulysses S. Webb, Earl Warren, and Robert W. Kenny, the present attorney general.

Mr. Zangerle was a member of Masonic Lodge Union No. 58, Elks Lodge No. 6, American Legion No. 61, Sacramento County Bar Association, California State Bar Association, the Commonwealth Club, and St. John's Lutheran Church.

He was interested in California history and active in all types of community and cultural service.

CAROLINE WENZEL

The Society has also suffered a great loss in the death of Mr. Charles P. Cutten of San Francisco, on September 15, and Miss May Southern of Redding, on September 21. Obituaries are being prepared for inclusion in a future issue.

We are also extremely sorry to report that one of our newer members, Mr. Emerson Holt, of Riverside, California, disappeared late in July while on a walking trip from Yosemite Valley to Merced Lake. It is supposed that he was drowned in the river, although his body has not yet been found.

Marginalia

Names of California missions are being given to the tankers constructed by the Marinship Corporation, of which a member of our Society, Mr. Kenneth K. Bechtel, is president. When the names of the missions of upper California are exhausted, those of Lower California, Arizona, and New Mexico will be drawn upon. The *Mission Soledad*, launched at Marinship on September 24, was sponsored by Mrs. Atholl McBean, one of our members.

The assistance of Mrs. Guy J. Giffen, in cataloguing objects in the Society's collection, is much appreciated. Mrs. Giffen, the newest of our volunteer workers, devotes one day a week to this work. The help of Mrs. Jane Shaw, secretary to Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Sr., and of Mrs. Aimée De Martini, secretary to Mr. Allen L. Chickering, in typing articles for the *Quarterly* is also gratefully acknowledged. Mrs. Lawton R. Kennedy is continuing her work on the cumulative index to the *Quarterly*, and Mrs. William A. Wood comes in occasionally to cut and sort newspaper clippings. As the Society's regular staff consists of but two persons, the assistance of volunteer workers is most welcome.

Of such outstanding importance are the two manuscript journals of Alfred Robinson, presented to the Society by his grandson, Mr. A. Porter Robinson, that attention is called to them here, although they are included in the list of "Gifts Received," printed elsewhere in this issue. An article based on the journals is being prepared by Miss Adele Ogden, a member of our editorial staff, for a future issue of the *Quarterly*.

The journal of John Work, beginning in this issue under the title, "Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura," is a sequel to Mrs. Alice B. Maloney's article, "John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company," printed in the June issue.

Benjamin Bronston Beales, one of our new members and author of the article on "The San Jose Mercury and the Civil War," which begins in this issue, was born in Wichita, Kansas. After attending Hollywood High School, Los Angeles Junior College, and San Jose State College, he received his B.A. from San Jose State College in 1936 and his M.A. from Stanford University in 1942. He is now a training officer of the California Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation and is also working for a Ph.D. in education at Stanford University.

General David Prescott Barrows,* who heads the list of new members, has recently retired from the University of California after being connected with that institution since 1910 as professor, dean, president, and chairman of the Department of Political Science. Previously he had served as director of education for the Philippine Islands. Although born in Chicago, Dr. Barrows received several of his many degrees in California—B.A. and LL.D. from Pomona College, M.A. and LL.D. from the University of California, and LL.D. from Mills College. He served as a lieutenant colonel of cavalry during World War I, and has since been a colonel and brigadier general of the National Guard of California and a major general, United States Army. He is the author of numerous works in the fields of history, government, and ethnology.

Mrs. J. William Beatty and Mrs. David Potter are daughters of our president, Dr. George D. Lyman,* and granddaughters of Dean B. Lyman, who came to California in the early 1850's, mined on the Yuba River, and later went to Nevada, where he was manager of several of the Comstock mines. Their great grandfather, Isaac E. Davis, a forty-niner, at one time was president of the Society of California Pioneers. Mrs. Potter is one of four generations born in the San Francisco Bay area—Mrs. Frederick W. Van Sicklen, Mrs. George D. Lyman, Elizabeth Lyman (Mrs. Potter), and Diana Potter.

All four of Leona Kreyenhagen Buckner's grandparents came to California before 1853 and her parents were pioneers of Poso Chine, Fresno County, where her father raised cattle and sheep. Mrs. Buckner owns and has restored El Adobe de los Robles Rancho, at Lemoore, and in it has collected a library of Californiana, museum pieces, and Indian relics, particularly from the San Joaquin Valley. She is a lecturer on California history and author of many newspaper and magazine articles and several historical pageants. She is a member of the Pioneer Women of California, and of the Kings County Historical Society, of which she was one of the founders, and district chairman of California History and Landmarks of the California Federation of Women's Clubs.

Harold Stuart Chase, a graduate of the University of California with the class of 1912, is an outstanding civic leader of Santa Barbara, where he has made his home since 1903. He is responsible for the development of Hope Ranch Park, a beautiful residential area near Santa Barbara. Mr. Chase is also a collector of Californiana, particularly maps and autographed first editions.

Mr. Frank H. Denman (listed as a new member in the June issue) was born at Two Rock Valley (west of Petaluma) in 1856, where his father had settled in 1852. Litigation over the land titles of the ranch which commenced in 1858 was finally settled in June 1877, just one week after Mr. Frank Denman's graduation from the University of California. He has been a farmer, county surveyor, and cashier of the Bank of Sonoma County, with which institution and its successors (it is now the Bank of America) he has been connected for many years.

Edward Augustus Dickson,* a native of Wisconsin, received his B.L. from the University of California in 1901 and is now a member of its Board of Regents. He has been engaged in newspaper work since 1903, and from 1919 to 1931 was editor and joint owner of the Los Angeles *Evening Express.*

Francis Seeley Foote* since he came to California in 1912 has been a member of the Department of Civil Engineering, University of California, and since 1917 he has been professor of railroad engineering. Two short articles on the boundaries of California by Professor Foote have been published in this *Quarterly*—in September and December 1940.

The parents of Mr. George Gerhard (Frederick G. and Augusta Gerhard) were passengers on the first transcontinental train to California in 1869.

Stuart N. Greenberg is the managing owner of M. Greenberg's Sons. His grandfather, Morris Greenberg, founder of the firm, came to California from Paris, France, arriving in San Francisco in 1851, and by 1854 had established, at 58 Halleck Street, the "M. Greenberg Eagle Brass Foundry," forerunner of the present firm.

Mrs. James Guilfoil (Beatrice Oreña) is a great granddaughter of Don José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, comandante of the Presidio of Santa Barbara in the early 1800's. As *sindico* of Santa Barbara Mission, Don José was instrumental in preventing it from being secularized. Mrs. Guilfoil's paternal grandfather, Gaspar Oreña, married Antonia de la Guerra, youngest of the twelve children of Don José.

Mrs. Estelle L. Hardy-Halsey is the daughter of Lowell J. Hardy, Jr., who came to California in the spring of 1850, and sister of our editor, Mr. Lowell E. Hardy.

Joseph Huggins, D.D.S., of Downingtown, Pennsylvania, is the grandson of John Work, whose journal begins in this issue. Joseph W. Huggins is the son of Dr. Huggins.

Mrs. Ernest A. Mott-Smith (Anne Elizabeth Paty) is the granddaughter of Captain John Paty, whose journal was printed in our *Quarterly* in December 1935. Captain Paty, given the title of commodore by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce on completion of his 100th voyage between California and the Sandwich Islands, made 140 trips before he died in 1868.

Lt. Allen B. Sherman is the grandson of Major Edwin A. Sherman, author of the Life of John Drake Sloat. Major Sherman, who came to California in 1849, had a most interesting life, and it is hoped to print his reminiscences in some future issue of our *Quarterly*.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

When the French Came to California

*An Introductory Essay**

By Gilbert Chinard

TO ONE of our late colleagues who had already done so much during his lifetime for the State of California and who will be remembered as one of the most active and generous friends of the eternal trees, we also owe a posthumous debt of gratitude. The son of a Frenchman who had come to California in 1851, Désiré Fricot was a devoted Californian and a loyal American, but he had remained sentimentally attached to the land of his forebears. Toward the end of his life he manifested a keen interest in California history and was particularly attracted by the well-known and little studied establishment and survival of a so-called "French colony" in California, and more particularly in San Francisco. Among his many occupations he found time to translate and prepare for publication a very significant and rather rare French pamphlet which it is now my privilege to present to the English reading public.

It is entitled *La Californie Dévoilée ou Vérités Irrécusables appuyées sur de nombreux témoignages sur cette partie du globe. Par Trény. Paris: Chez tous les libraires. 1850.* The first forty-eight pages purport to give an accurate and objective view of conditions then obtaining in California and are illustrated with picturesque and romantic woodcuts. The remaining twelve pages deal with the technical organization of the *Compagnie La Californienne, 44, rue de Trévise, Paris,* and include an article reprinted from the *Journal du Havre* and also found in the January 16, 1850, issue of the *Journal des Débats.* It is a very important document opening a new vista on the little-known European background of California history.

The story of the Gold Rush has been told so many times, and so many chroniclers have recorded the arrival in San Francisco of adventurers drawn to California by the golden mirage, that even a brief mention of it might seem superfluous. "Villains and scoundrels . . . beardless youths and sophisticated adventurers . . . French merchants and German travelers . . . Australian convicts and South American gentlemen . . . New England puritans and ladies of fancy," writes a recent historian. "These were the Argonauts

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*This essay is introductory to the translation made by the late Désiré Fricot of a rare French pamphlet, *La Californie Devoilée*, by Trény, which will be printed in the March 1944 issue of this *Quarterly*. Most of the material used here was obtained through a grant made by the Research Committee of Princeton University toward the preparation of a history of the French in California.

who heard in far places and near the stories of the Sierra's astounding golden wealth."[1] Curiously enough, few historians, if any, have taken the trouble to investigate in detail the motives which impelled these Argonauts, and particularly those coming from "far places," to uproot themselves, under what circumstances they sailed, what their expectations really were, and what considerations guided them. An explanation which would ascribe the extraordinary influx of immigrants, and particularly of foreigners, which took place between 1848 and 1854 simply to the gold fever, *auri sacra fames*, is manifestly unfair, or at least incomplete, and does not stand the test of analysis. Even if it were true, it would still not reveal how the contagion spread, how many people were infected by it, and how the epidemic, having run its course, finally subsided.

Even a partial survey, limited to one country, would require investigations which cannot be undertaken at the present time, since a large part of the material still in existence would have to be sought in Europe. In the meantime, the sketchy notes and facts set down here without any pretense to completeness may serve, as far as the French immigration is concerned, to indicate the richness of this practically virgin territory.

For lack of a better one, the work of Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), may still be considered the standard history of the French in California. Despite its many and obvious limitations, it will long remain a valuable source book on the subject, since it contains transcripts and abstracts of many documents that were destroyed in the fire of 1906. It is to be noted, however, that while Lévy has treated with reasonable completeness the landing of the French Argonauts, he has almost entirely neglected the European side of the story, dismissing it in one short paragraph:

> In 1850, were organized, in Paris, several societies for the transportation of emigrants. Unfortunately, the promoters knew very little about California, and, in some cases, were even solely intent upon swindling the public. As soon as they landed in San Francisco, the workers had to ask for the assistance of their fellow countrymen or of the French Consulate.[2]

Thus was summarily put aside an episode of French history fully deserving to be treated by Balzac and incorporated in his *Comédie humaine.*

No attempt will be made to enumerate and study all these "societies of emigration," of which *La Californienne* was only one. This outline will be limited to a short period immediately preceding and following the publication of *La Californie Dévoilée.* Even within that period we have limited our investigation to very few of the available sources, among which the most important is *Le Journal des Débats.* The daily, then edited by the very respectable Mr. Bertin, has been selected as representing the liberal opinion of a level-headed middle class. It will be seen, however, that the publicity campaign conducted by the immigration companies had very little to do with the general policy of the paper and can be studied independently.

The period of the Gold Rush proper, roughly included between 1848 and 1850, was marked in Europe, and particularly in France, by economic difficulties, civil strifes and revolutions of the utmost gravity. The overthrow of the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe, in February 1848, marked the beginning of a long period of disorders, riots, misery, even famine, aggravated by the recurrent fear of a cholera epidemic. France, at the time more thickly populated than any other nation in Europe, except Russia (thirty-six millions, against thirty millions in Austria and twenty-eight in England), was confronted with such serious problems at home as to leave little time for foreign developments in remote parts of the world. Nevertheless, many thinking people were still turning their eyes toward America, some to learn from the United States a possible solution of the problem of organizing a democratic form of government which would still be a government. Others were watching with particular interest a territorial expansion which they feared would begin the transformation of a peaceful democracy into an imperialistic and self-aggrandizing nation. Finally, the French themselves entertained ambitious schemes in the Pacific, perhaps in South America, and news from Mexico, Texas and California was eagerly awaited. Curiously enough, however, the French press seems to have overlooked at first the news of the Marshall-Sutter discovery of gold.

This omission and lack of interest is easily explained by the fact that Paris during the early part of the summer was in the throes of political disorder and rioting which culminated in the frightful days of June 22, 23, 24 and 25. When comparative order was re-established, the deaths amounted to 12,000 (50,000 according to the British papers), 25,000 people had been arrested, 10,948 were brought before courts martial, many were sentenced to prison, almost 5,000 to deportation. Order prevailed, but despite the growing reaction it was realized that prison sentences and the use of force offered neither a permanent nor a real solution to the situation then existing not only in Paris but throughout the country. To many of the legislators and a large part of the public it had already appeared that a partial remedy could be found in a well-directed emigration toward the French colonies. Societies had been formed to send a large part of the unemployed to Algeria, and the Assembly had voted a credit of fifty million francs to facilitate their settlement. No less desirable seemed emigration to the French West Indies: a larger proportion of French colonists in the islands would greatly contribute to maintain peace and order among a turbulent colored population. But, at the end of the summer, very few people in France were aware that a new Promised Land had just been opened to the discontented and adventurous spirits of Europe.

At any rate, one has to wait until November 13, 1848, to find the first noteworthy mention of the gold rush in the French press. It was presented with obvious reservations. The news had been brought to Southampton by the S.S. *Britannia* and was dated from New York, October 25:

> The current of emigration which impels a multitude of American citizens towards the newly acquired territory of California does not slacken. It seems that mineral deposits of great value have been discovered; everyone speaks of gold mines, of fabulous riches awaiting only the hands of the miners to be picked up. Whether true or false, exaggerated or not, these rumors seem to have powerfully aroused popular imagination.[3]

After this noncommittal piece of information, silence was resumed. As America was going to the polls to elect President Zachary Taylor, France was turning her attention to her own presidential election, the results of which, making Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte president of the Republic by an overwhelming majority, were not proclaimed until December 20.

By the end of the year, Paris was getting back to normalcy with a vengeance. The message of President James K. Polk, dated December 5, 1848, reached France on December 23. A marvelous Christmas present indeed! All doubts were dispelled: there was gold in the newly acquired territory! It was soon followed by the report of Colonel Richard Barnes Mason, dated from Monterey, August 17, telling of his visit to Fort Sutter and the Mormon Diggings, which was brought over to Liverpool by the S.S. *Cambria.* Soon followed the report of R. M. Patterson, director of the Mint of the United States, dated December 11 and certifying to the high quality of California gold. Two weeks later, on January 13, appeared the first advertisement announcing that *La Meuse* had been chartered by the *Agence Américaine*, 44 rue Notre-Dame des Victoires, and would sail for San Francisco on February 15. On February 1, mention is made of a regularly constituted society: *Expédition Française pour les Mines d'Or de Sacramento*, organized by MM. Morin, Schmidt, and Hacher, sea captains, and Roch Delage, jeweler, with a capital of 1,000,000 francs, divided into 100,000 shares to be subdivided into fourths of 25 francs each. Subscriptions amounting to 300,000 francs were invited at once, in order to meet the expenses of the first expedition: the chartering of a ship and the purchase of merchandise to be sent to San Francisco. From the very beginning, the promoters had found the formula which was going to be used with many embellishments and improvements for almost two years.

Meanwhile, every day, news bringing confirmation of the first reports was printed in the press. The staid *Journal des Débats* had to admit that it was no longer possible to entertain any doubt about the fabulous wealth recently discovered in California: "We might treat as humbug all the reports coming from America were they not supported by the strongest evidence. The real facts are beyond the wildest dreams." Then came the surprising assertion that the "auriferous fields" were no less than eight hundred miles long and one hundred miles broad. In all that territory gold was found—"gold dust, gold nuggets, gold ingots *(lingots d'or)*, weighing from 1 to 24 pounds." No wonder the rewrite man could add in conclusion that the other news from America presented little interest *(les nouvelles du reste de l'Amérique présentent peu d'intérêt)*.

The editorial of February 14 was even more categorical and summed up, as follows, the general impression: "The most remarkable development of our age, in the field of material progress, is beyond any contradiction the discovery and exploitation of the gold field of California." Thereupon it was announced that San Francisco had already become richer than New York and that the metropolis of the Pacific would soon eclipse the metropolis of the Atlantic.

The world of fashions could not remain indifferent. A sure indication of the vogue enjoyed by everything dealing with California is found in an advertisement of *La Maison des Quatre Parties du Monde* printed on March 18 and announcing that the house had just received "a large quantity of wearing apparel intended for persons who wish to emigrate to California or any such distant country." Suits could be had at the very moderate price of six francs upward. For the non-emigrants who wished to conform to fashion, and particularly for the ladies, there was a delectable "chapeau californien" made by Aimée Henry, 18 rue Basse du Rempart, Chaussée d'Antin, a truly "ravishing bonnet of taffetas or crêpe," for 12 francs.[4]

Much more serious was the campaign launched by the speculators and promoters. The letters from San Francisco, printed in the New York press and translated for the benefit of the French public, were received with mixed feelings. There was no doubt whatever about the reality of the discovery and of the fabulous treasures to be extracted from the soil. But lawlessness prevailed in San Francisco, and in the mining camps the law of the jungle was supreme. Such conditions were not very reassuring, either for the investors or for the emigrants who were unwilling to exchange their very precarious ways of living for the complete terrorism and troubled conditions which obtained in California. These considerations, among many others, prevented the gold fever from spreading like an epidemic in Paris and made much more difficult the work of the promoters. Even at the height of the excitement, the French public proved, as has often been the case, at the same time extremely gullible and extremely conservative. The promoters were confronted with a sales resistance which had to be overcome if they were to sell profitably the stock of the mining and emigration companies which grew overnight like so many mushrooms. Here we must pause briefly to examine some of the circumstances which determined the success of their undertaking.

Although the French have often been accused of being non-co-operative and unable to unite in a common enterprise, during the last years of Louis-Philippe's reign they had taken the word "association" as their national motto. "Association" was at the basis of the vague socialism advocated by François Charles Marie Fourier and his disciples. Whether the organizations were called guilds, societies, companies, or clubs, the working men felt that they had to unite their efforts in order to obtain better living conditions or simply the famous *droit au travail.* The same spirit extended to the bourgeois and capitalistic classes, for they too had understood that the era of small enterprises was over, that large business undertakings required a capital that no single individual could afford to invest. Mining companies, railroad companies, industrial companies of all sorts were presented as enabling even the most modest investors to share in the profits of very large developments. Cautious and thrifty *petits bourgeois,* who would have refused to lend a small amount of money to one of their best friends, felt all resistance melt away on reading on the last page of their daily paper the marvellous assurances of tremendous profits made under the name of the directors of a new company, many of them members of the national order of the Légion d'Honneur. Moreover, they had just gone through a most painful experience. The disturbances following the overthrow of the monarchy had played havoc with government bonds and with the safest investments. The losses had been tremendous, and in their despair the investors were ready to welcome the wildest schemes in order to recoup. The aim was no longer to economize, save and invest prudently, but to make a new fortune.

This state of mind was still encouraged by the profusion of lotteries authorized by the Government for the building of hospitals, the construction of canals, the digging of a tunnel, as well as for charitable purposes. The famous *Ateliers nationaux,* somewhat similar to the recent Work Projects Administration, had proved a costly failure; the workers had made the Revolution in order to obtain recognition for *le droit au travail,* but there was no work to be had. The people of Paris, particularly, were almost completely destitute, but there was no *ouvrier* or *ménagère* who could not afford somehow to buy for one franc the hope of winning a million. It was fully realized that this was no remedy, that some means had to be found to relieve the economic pressure on the working classes. One obvious remedy was to encourage emigration. A well-organized system of emigration would offer many advantages: first of all it would enable the government to get rid of the most troublesome elements in the population. After all, this was the procedure followed under the old regime to provide settlers for the colonies. The experience of the British in New Zealand had proved that it could be very successful, and that people who might have become criminals in their native country had displayed a marvellous courage and spirit of enterprise in new surroundings. By all means the emigrants should be sent to French colonies, as far as practicable; but many of them could also be directed toward America in general, and more particularly toward California.

It was also a question affecting national interests. In the absence of any strongly organized government, California appeared as a land properly belonging to all comers, *terra nullius*, or rather *terra omnium*. All the countries of Europe, particularly Germany and the British Isles, were sending in large number, emigrants who would in fact take possession of the land of gold. Some of the gold dug out of the mining fields would find its way to Europe. Could France hesitate to participate in the division of the booty? Was it not a patriotic duty to send to California miners who, while making a fortune for themselves, would at the same time work for their own country?

Whether or not the promoters of the gold companies were perfectly convinced of the value of these arguments is not easy to determine. Some were obviously dishonest; others at the same time were both eager to make money easily and rapidly and extraordinarily gullible. It seems certain, also, that a not inconsiderable number were sincerely hoping that emigration to California would contribute to relieve a truly distressing condition. However their case may stand, they were all confronted with a double task: first, to convince the investors that their enterprise was sound and would bring enormous profits; second, to convince as large a number of prospective emigrants as possible that a fortune to be had for the picking awaited them in San Francisco, and at the same time to induce them to pay for their transportation to the new Eldorado. In order to reach their goal they resorted to a new instrumentality which had never yet been used with the same intensity: the advertising power of the daily press.

To make a complete survey of the Paris newspapers during the period under consideration is practically impossible under the present circumstances, as we have indicated above. Fortunately we have been able to make use of a complete file of *Le Journal des Débats* which probably illustrates better than any other paper the methods and means used by the promoters of mining companies. It is particularly significant to note that most of the editorials and articles dealing with California were in general extremely reserved and distinctly conservative. This was particularly the case of *La Revue des Deux-Mondes* and of *L'Illustration.* In an article entitled *Ho! for California!* published on January 13, 1849, the anonymous writer foretold the direct consequences which would result from a sudden increase of 120 to 150 millions in the gold production of the world: he prophesied "a complete upheaval in costs," that "the social structure would be rent and torn to pieces," and that in the forthcoming catastrophe "France would suffer three times as much as Great Britain and six times as much as the United States." No less pessimistic was Victor de Bellelune in an article published a month later, on February 10, 1849: "Life in California is not life, it is a frenzy, a mania for getting gold and for increasing what one has already gotten. This frenzy, when it reaches its paroxysm, can at any time change any gold miner into an assassin." In the *Journal des Débats*, itself, the economist Michel Chevalier carefully and cautiously analyzed, without committing himself to any definite prediction, possible transformations of the world's economy as a result of a sudden influx of gold. No such reserve was observed in the advertising section of the paper. The space occupied by the gold companies grew from day to day until some companies were able to buy the whole advertising section. As was remarked on January 18, 1851, in *L'Illustration*, the administrator of the *Journal des Débats* signed his name at the end of the third page, and considered himself in no way responsible for the advertising matter printed on the fourth page.

The campaign of publicity started in a comparatively restrained manner. On March 20, 1849, *La Californienne*, the company which was to publish at the end of the year the pamphlet translated by Mr. Fricot, printed its first announcement. The capital of the company was to be 5,000,000 francs; this was to be divided into 50,000 shares of 100 francs each, payable either in goods or in specie. Prospective emigrants were invited to subscribe a certain number of shares, so as to be *travailleurs associés*, instead of working men in the pay of the company. Thus an appeal was made to the sacred virtues of "association." Another society, *L'Espérance*, published its statutes on April 21. The company was established with a capital of 5,000,000 francs, divided into 25,000 shares of 200 francs, but each share could be subdivided into twenty parts, so as to give the smallest investor a chance to participate in the expected profits. An interest of 5% was promised; each worker who agreed to go to California was "to receive 90% of the profits." The company had already secured a ship, the *Java*, ready to sail from Bordeaux.

Quite typical of the emphasis placed on the philanthropic tendencies of the companies was the prospectus of *La Société Nationale*, published in *L'Indispensable, Journal Industrial servant de guide aux étrangers à Paris.* I have in my possession the first, and probably the only issue of the paper, dated April 5, 1849. The Society was established upon "mutual and fraternal foundations" *(sur des bases mutuelles et fraternelles).* The directors undertook to facilitate in every possible way participation in the society, for, "in our society every citizen must have the same rights to participate in such an enterprise whatever his social standing may be." Consequently the price of the shares was fixed at the very moderate sum of five francs. However, in order to become an *associé travailleur* it was necessary to subscribe at least two hundred shares, representing the minimum cost of the voyage. For that amount the society guaranteed transportation to California, provided tools, provisions, clothing, and even arms for two years. Nothing had been forgotten: physical and spiritual needs had been carefully considered: two doctors, a pharmacist, and a chaplain were to accompany the expedition. After their arrival in California, the work was to be directed by qualified mining engineers. It was finally promised that the ship would remain at anchor in San Francisco Bay for the duration of the expedition and would serve (1) as a hospital in case of sickness; (2) as a food store and a warehouse for the merchandise to be sold to the Californians; (3) as a safe place in which to keep the gold; and (4) as means of transportation for a return to France. *La Société Nationale* was definitely incorporated on April 28.

La Californienne came out with all banners unfurled on July 2. The board of directors was small but impressive: Renou de Ballon, *représentant du peuple;* Breymand, *représentant du peuple;* Alexandre, *propriétaire aux Etats-Unis.* As legal advisers they had selected a man whose absolute honesty could not be doubted—the great lawyer and liberal statesman, Jules Favre, *avocat;* M. Thion de la Chaume, *notaire*; and Walker, *agrégé du Tribunal de commerce.* The general manager was M. C. Hochgesangt, *négociant;* the correspondents, Pellevoisin and Sutzer, of le Havre, and J. J. Chauviteau, of San Francisco. This was the only time that the name of Jules Favre appeared on any of the literature issued by *La Californienne.* The society boasted of owning gold claims in California and of taking to San Francisco ten amalgamating machines.

Meanwhile the society *L'Espérance*, after announcing that the *Java* had sailed, offered a new chance to the *travailleurs associés.* Each of them was to buy 1,000 francs worth of shares as a guarantee that he would fulfill his contract. If he paid in 2,000 francs, he would be entitled to a proportionate share of 80% of the profits, 20% being put aside for the society.

However, from time to time, alarming news appeared and was printed in a discreet and considerate manner. On August 19, *La Société Nationale* invited the *travailleurs associés* who had already registered for the second sailing, and one may suppose who had already paid for their transportation, to present themselves at once, or to be represented by a proxy, at 62 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, for "an important communication." After which nothing was ever heard of *La Société Nationale*, so far as I have been able to find out.

During the second half of 1849, the California boom apparently experienced a decided slump. This slackening of the campaign may be attributed in part to political conditions resulting from the sending of French troops to Italy to restore the temporal power of the Pope, partly also to the ever-growing difficulties of finding ships to send to California. However, *La Californienne* remained active. A first expedition sailed from Le Havre, on November 27, on the *Jacques Laffitte*; other sailings were announced. More and more it appeared that the best solution for one of the most perplexing domestic problems was to encourage the emigration of the unemployed and potential trouble makers. A society was formed for "the abolition of pauperism," *La Compagnie Générale pour l'Emigration et la Colonisation,* with the definite aim of obtaining land grants "in Algeria, Madagascar, New Zealand, the United States, or any other part of America." On December 6, *La Californienne* announced the coming sailing of the *Grétry;* but evidently, at this juncture, it was felt necessary not only to encourage the associated workers but also to dispel any doubts which the public might entertain concerning the claims advanced by the society. Such was the task entrusted to an obscure writer who signed himself Trény, probably using a pseudonym, and who compiled during the late days of 1849 a pamphlet entitled *La Californie Dévoilée.* The date of writing can be deduced from several statements in the body of the booklet, such as "*les journaux qui nous sont parvenus jusqu'à ce jour (November 1849)* . . .," "*au moment où nous écrivons, une Assemblée législative doit siéger en Californie,*" and "*au moment de mettre sous presse, les journaux anglais, et parmi eux le* Standard, *nous apprennent que le* Pandore, *arrivé à Portsmouth, le 10 novembre, a apporté 800,000 dollars (4 millions) d'or californien.*"[5] . . .

The California State Library in Sacramento owns a copy of the first edition, dated 1850, probably published very early in the year. The second edition, which was used by Mr. Fricot for his translation, seems identical with the first. It is by no means an original piece of work. Trény made use of correspondence probably already published in the newspapers; of extracts from the English and American papers; of the curious pamphlet (32 pages) printed under the name of Auguste Lacoste, *Californie. Fragments inédits d'un voyage autour du monde* (Paris, 1849); and of a fragment of the book of Hippolyte Ferry, *Description de la Nouvelle-Californie: géographique, politique et morale* (Paris, 1850), published in 1849 in a French newspaper. The document speaks for itself and needs no elaboration, although attention may be called to a few points.

The very beginning indicates the character and aim of a publication intended to reassure those who, while intending to go to California, were then "hesitant because of alarming and pessimistic rumors." It also made a strong appeal to the belief in the virtue of what Louis Blanc called at the time *l'association sacrée.* Throughout the forty-eight pages constituting the text proper were adroitly sprinkled allusions to the unique and superior efficacy and reliability of *La Californienne.* Step by step the reader was led to a conclusion not entirely unexpected:

> In the course of this writing we have had occasion to mention a company founded for the exploitation of the gold mines of California and established upon the principle of mutuality. We believe that our readers will be pleased to become acquainted with the by-laws of this society which has left nothing undone in order to secure full success for its enterprise.[6]

Obviously, not only *La Californienne*, but, generally speaking, all the emigration companies, had still to overcome a considerable sales resistance on the part of investors and prospective emigrants reluctant to leave their homes and families for the *belle aventure*. By the beginning of the year 1850, however, the advertising campaign was to resume with a renewed impetus.

The first reassuring factor, skillfully exploited by the promoters, was the news that California had called a convention in order to adopt a constitution. It was contained in a message of President Taylor, which reached France on January 11. At last, California would enjoy the benefits of a regularly established government! The law of the jungle would no longer prevail in San Francisco and in the mining camps; the "associated workers" would find in California the security so dear to the French, even to the revolutionists among them. Upheld by so high an authority, the campaign started in earnest. On February 23, it was recalled that the English public was taking full advantage of the situation in California and that British investors were already reaping huge profits. For instance, East Wheel Rose shares, issued at £50, were selling for £1250; Sud-Caradan issued at £5, for £125; Great Consols issued at £1, for £25. The latest news confirmed "the most optimistic reports on the great wealth of the country."

Still the market was sluggish. The French public was so reluctant to yield to the temptation that, on February 19, the monthly magazine bearing the most conservative name of *La Famille* offered as a premium one share of *L'Aurifère* with a year's subscription, both for the very moderate sum of 15 francs. The sales talk was most eloquent and moving. This time the promoters were making an appeal to the Church. The president of the board of directors was Abbé Castelli; associated with him on the board were M. Talbot, *ancien notaire, and* M. Saulnier, *curé de Livry*. A share selling at the time for 10 francs would surely bring 450 francs a year for six years, without counting the "extra dividends." Despite this magnificent prediction, a lurking pessimism must have survived in the mind of the writer, since he added slyly, that, in any case, one would be sure to enjoy reading the magazine *(on est indemnisé par la lecture du journal.)*

Even more impressive was *La Compagnie de la Seine et du Sacramento*, a very arresting name although challenging all geographical notions. The capital of 2,000,000 francs was to be divided into 200,000 shares, the profits to be distributed as follows: 40% to the associated workers, 40% to the shareholders, 10% to the administrators. The list of the directors is worth reproducing here: the president of the board was M. le marquis d'Argent, *officier de la Légion d'Honneur, membre du Conseil Général du département de l'Eure-et-Loir, membre du Conseil Général de l'Agriculture, du Commerce et des Manufactures*. His associates on the board were: M. le chevalier Mac Sheey, *lieutenant-colonel, officier de la Légion d'Honneur*; M. le comte de Dionne, *officier de la Légion d'Honneur, ancien colonel d'état-major, ancien commissaire général de la navigation;* M. le comte d'Agard, *officier supérieur de cavalerie, officier de la Légion d'Honneur;* M. Machor, *commissaire de la marine, chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.* The first expedition was to sail on May 15, "on one of the magnificent ships now loading." The postscript was quite characteristic: "The Company has for its sole purpose the exploitation of gold mines; all commercial transactions presenting uncertain odds are prohibited by the statutes *(La Compagnie se livre exclusivement à l'exploitation des mines d'or; toutes les opérations commerciales présentant des chances incertaines lui sont interdites par ses statuts).* By a curious and perhaps not entirely unintentional coincidence, the next item on the fourth page of *Le Journal des Débats* was an advertisement for *Le Journal pour rire.* But this was just a beginning.

La Compagnie Française et Américaine de San-Francisco, with shares selling at 5 francs, found itself confronted with so great a demand that the administrators, unable to sign all the certificates, had decided to issue them in blocks of five in order to accelerate the distribution. Already seven series of 5,000 had been sold; a first sailing on the *Arche d'alliance* was announced, soon to be followed by a second one on the *Pescatore.*[7]

On the next day, *La Ruche d'or,* with shares selling at five francs, made a special appeal to the country workers. These must furnish two certificates of morality, preferably signed by members of the clergy. Their contracts were to run for three years, and they were to keep one-fourth of all the gold collected.

On May 12, the shareholders of *La Californienne* held their annual meeting, and the first report of the administrators was made public. The results obtained were beyond all expectations: branches had been established in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain; 5,636 shares had been sold, amounting to 563,600 francs; two ships had already sailed. Thereupon it was unanimously voted to pay an interest of 5% to all the shareholders. As no mention had been made of any profit and nothing had yet been heard of the first ship sent to California, we may only guess where the money with which to pay the dividends was to be found. It mattered very little, apparently, that occasionally some less encouraging items appeared in other columns of the paper. Nobody cared very much that the directors of *La Société des Mines d'Or de la Californie* had been arrested at the beginning of the year. Even less attention, apparently, was paid the letters written from San Francisco in which a former type-setter of the *Journal des Débats,* Etienne Derbec, presented a judicious and discouraging picture of the life of the immigrants in California. Nothing could throw cold water on the enthusiasm of the promoters.[8]

On May 12, was launched a new society: *La Fortune,* offering 15,000 shares at 10 francs each, and 3,000 at 50 francs. The company had just bought four almost miraculous machines,[9] each being "equal to 100 men" and "capable of extracting 2 kilograms of gold a day," in other words, of making a profit of 6,000 francs a day and 5,670,000 a year of eight working months, for it was reasonably admitted that work in the gold fields had to stop during the rainy season. Each share of 10 francs would thus receive a dividend of 80 francs; shares of 50 francs would be entitled to 400 francs, and each worker would make a profit of 70,000 francs. In support of these statements, it was pointed out that "official reports" fully bearing out these contentions could be consulted at the ministries of Agriculture and Commerce, and that public experiments with the machines would be conducted in the near future.

L'Aurifère, called itself modestly *Compagnie Universelle des Mines d'Or.* This time, functionaries who had faithfully served the recently exiled king Louis-Philippe, and for the present were out of a job, had accepted to serve on the board of directors. The president was M. Thevelin, *ex-contrôleur des dépenses de la Maison d'Orléans, chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur;* the manager, M. Rabier, *ancien sous-chef d'administration de la Maison d'Orléans*; the leader of the forthcoming expedition, M. Bonjuan de la Varenne, *chef d'escadron d'état-major, officier de la Légion d'Honneur.* With them on the board were two unnamed *représentants du peuple* and two priests. Emulating *La Fortune*, *L'Aurifère* had bought 24 machines, each of them "equal to 80 men, and consequently doing together the work of 320 men." Thus the recruiting and transportation of the "associated workers" was marvellously simplified. The shares were issued at the very low price of 10 francs each, and would bring 450 francs a year. In addition the subscribers would receive absolutely free of charge "the paper *L'Aurifère* and a map of California."

Apparently there is no limit to the imagination of promoters. On the next day, June 15, *La France*, with a capital of 600,000 francs, and shares issued at 50 francs, promised dividends of 1,420 francs a share and profits of 170,000 francs to each associated worker. As conclusive evidence it was stated that, "an authentic report in the hands of the directors of *La France*, a report which anyone may consult, proves that 500 kilograms of auriferous quartz from California contain more than 666,000 francs worth of gold."

On May 16, the *Compagnie Française et Américaine de San-Francisco* almost surpassed itself in respectability. The society had already sent two ships to California; eighty associated workers had left under the leadership of M. Grenier, assisted by Abbé Blaive, *chapelain, ancien membre du conseil de surveillance,* Abbé Moulis, *aumônier* of the second expedition, MM. Latour et Bidault, doctors, and Rey Demorande, pharmacist. The society was getting ready to send out a third expedition and had already bought a ship of about 350 tons, certainly not a Leviathan of the seas; over 70,000 shares had been sold. In the gold discovery, the directors of the company did not hesitate to recognize the hand of Providence *(un fait providentiel)* since it had come at a time when "so many people have seen their fortunes shaken by political disturbances, when agriculture, commerce and industry are almost lifeless, when it has become so difficult to recoup losses or to obtain a position, when perhaps the best investments are those which are made in foreign lands." Then came the usual promise: "Each share during the next five years will bring a minimum return of 180 francs. Thus it is possible with 500 francs to obtain a capital of 15,000 francs." The associated workers were not forgotten, since, during the three years of their contract, they could accumulate "dividends amounting to 275,000 francs." Such results were not "astonishing," if one remembered that the company had called upon "all the resources provided by science" and had secured the exclusive use of a machine recently invented by a former university professor, Abbé d'Hérens.

To offset these claims *La Californienne* could only protest that the company had been the first to procure gold extracting machines and that they had been shipped last November on the *Jacques Laffitte*. They could pay no dividend as yet, but the shareholders were assured that they would be invited to inspect the gold ingots as soon as they arrived.

Apparently, directors offering every possible guarantee of respectability could still be found. On July 9, *Le Nouveau Monde, Compagnie Franco-Anglaise*, presented to the public a list that could not easily be surpassed. The general director was M. Paganelli de Zicavo; the members of the board, M. le général comte Hulot d'Osery; M. le colonel de Laborde, *représentant du peuple*, *commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur;* M. le comte de Talvende, *propriétaire;* M. le comte Milon de Viliers, *ancien préfet;* M. de Wissocq, *ancien préfet*, *ingénieur*. The *Directeur des mines* in California had the auspicious name of M. Christophe Colomb, *de la Société géologique de France*, *ingénieur*, *naturaliste*. The supervising committee included M. *l'abbé* Gaubert, *ex-vicaire général des colonies anglaises*, M. le docteur Lande, *de l'Académie de Médecine*, and M. Reuilly de Beaufort, *propriétaire aux Antilles*. A capital of 15,000,000 francs was divided into shares of 1,000, 100 and 10 francs so as to give even the poorest French citizens a chance to make a fortune.

Two weeks later, on July 27, the *Californienne* had a special announcement to make. The expected gold ingots had not yet arrived, but they had at last heard from the *Jacques Laffitte;* it was very reassuring to know that the ship had reached Valparaiso and that all the associated workers had recognized M. Gaillard as their leader.

To cut short an enumeration which might become repetitious, let us take now a typical day. On August 2, 1850, *L'Eldorado*, a society more inclusive than any other since it was, *maritime*, *industrielle et agricole*, with a capital of 6,000,000, promised 80% of its otherwise unspecified profits to the shareholders. *La Ruche d'Or*, with Comte de Pons and M. Arnail, *ex-capitaine de l'armée*, pledged only 40% of the profits to the shareholders, but the workers were to receive free transportation and medical care. *La Commerciale, Compagnie pour le Commerce d'Exportation et d'Importation et l'Exploitation des Mines d'Or de la Californie*, was planning to ship to California prefabricated houses which could be put up in a few hours.[10] The Company made no definite promise, but pointed out that the profits could not fail to be very high. Then came *La Bretonne*, announcing a third sailing: *Le Pescatore* had sailed on May 17, the *Ferrière* on June 22; the *Alphonse Fasquelle* was to follow soon. *La Compagnie Transatlantique, Comptoir des Deux-Mondes*, with a capital of 1,800,000 had sent out the *Tacna*, on July 25, and was planning a third and last sailing in September; 300 tons of merchandise had already been received. The postscript was very moderate, simply stating that: "Following the most modest estimates, a share of 100 francs ought to bring a dividend of about 3,000 francs." Not aiming so high, *Le Globe* had simply purchased machinery to manufacture clothes for the California miners; but the *Société de Commerce de San Francisco, Compagnie Française, Belge et Allemande*, boasted of a board of directors surpassing that of *Le Nouveau-Monde* with Amiral Ducrest de Villeneuve; General Magnin; a cousin of the Prince-President who was soon to become Napoleon III, Pierre Bonaparte, *représentant du peuple;* Després, *manufacturier*, and a technician of transportation, Wichrer, *ancien commissionnaire de roulage*. Shares of 25 francs were to be paid in specie, and shares of 250 francs in merchandise. The total capital was to be 3,000,000 francs.

And so the campaign went on during the whole summer. On August 10, the *Société de Commerce de San Francisco* occupied the whole fourth page of the journal. On August 16, *La Californienne* also bought a whole page, which constitutes a most valuable document since it contains the lists of all the emigrants who had sailed on the ships of the company, with their original residence. Such information is so seldom available that it has seemed desirable to print them here in full:

First Expedition by the *Jacques Laffitte*

Sailed from Le Havre, November 27, 1849

Gaillard (Henri), ancien maire de Saint-Grégoire (Charente-Inférieure), *directeur de l'exploitation en Californie, chef de l'expédition.*

Pomier (Médard-Camille), ingénieur-civil, Paris, 4, rue de Vaugirard, *ingénieur des mines.*

Mazerat (Pierre) docteur-médecin, ancien maire de Vesdun, *médecin de l'association.*

Van Crombrugghe (Alfred), propriétaire, Anvers, *chef comptable.* Dupont clerc de notaire, Prez-en-Pail (Mayenne).

Fournier (Claudius), négociant de Nimes (Gard), *sous-ingénieur, conducteur des travaux.*

Châtelier (Pierre-François-Henri), conducteur des ponts-et-chaussées, Nancraus (Charente-Inférieure), *conducteur des travaux.*

Ban Mayer (Joseph-Antoine), officier retraité, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, Paris.

Ribeaucourt, Paris. — Grassat, Paris. — Huin, Paris. — Paul, Valence (Drôme). — Lerefait, Rouen (Seine-Inférieure). — Souriguère aîné, Vienne (Isère). — Darcaigne, Saint-Mandé, près Paris. — Tavernier fils, Vienne (Isère). — Tavernier père, *id.* — Laisné, Paris. — Dufresne, Paris. — Camoin, Paris. — Chavanon, Paris. — Hébrard, Bercy. — Madame Hébrard, Bercy. — Laroche, Paris. — Montigny, Bruxelles. — Rigouley, Près-en Pail (Mayenne). — Belhague, Orny, près Pontoise. — Gambert, Maisonneuve, prés Coulommiers. — Hozé, Cuny-le-Châtel (Côte-d'Or). — Perrin, Paris. — Brizevon, Paris. — Cooman (de), Paris. — Villars, Nîmes (Gard). — Marziou, Brest (Finistère). — Cibiel, Paris. — Sébille, Vavray-le-Grand (Marne). — Chavigny, Jonzac (Charente-Inférieure). — Carrère fils, Buzy (Basses-Pyrénées). — Hartmann, Mulhouse (Haut-Rhin). — Protet, Paris. — Moulin, Paris. — Dauphin, Paris. — Richard, Marennes (Charente-Inférieure). — Bernard, Lampaul-Plomarzel (Finistère). — Béchade de Fonroche, Cellefrouin (Charente). — Viaud, Champagnolles (Charente-Inférieure). — Moreau, Champagnolles (Charente-Inférieure). — Jacob, Eugène, Lunel (Hérault). — Jacob, Jules, Lunel (Hérault). — L. Magne, Aurillac (Cantal). — Toche, Paris. — Suisse-Genonville, Cumières, près d'Ax, etc. etc.

SECOND EXPEDITION BY THE *Grétry*

Sailed from Le Havre, February 27, 1850

De Boullenois (Louis-Marie-Gustave) de Sénin (Ardèche) *chef d'expédition.*

L'abbé Renaud, du diocèse d'Agen, Casten (Gironde) *aumônier.*

Aubert (Jacques-Mathieu), Nîmes (Gard), *médecin.*

Leroy (Jean-Aristide), ancien maître de postes, Theix (Morbihan), *conducteur des travaux.*

Krand (Pierre), fermier cultivateur, Theix (Morbihan), *conducteur des travaux.*

Marot fils (Georges-Emile), Châtellerault (Vienne), *comptable.*

Robin (Paris). — Follet, Neuilly. — Deshays, Redon. — Billot, Cauvigny (Oise). — Humbert, Villefranche (Saône). — Mazoyer, Villefranche (Saône). — Masson, Plonigneau (Finistère). — Choub Raon l'Etape (Vosges). — Guilloteau, Luçon (Vendée). — Lapeyre, Castelmauroux (Vendée). — Boucher, Saint-Gilles Pligneaux (Côtes-du-Nord). — Bertaut, Chelles (Oise). — Richer, Conly (Oise). — Carré (Aimable), Bouvigny

(Pas-de-Calais). — Carré (Eugene), Bouvigny (Pas de Calais). — Lunel (Morgemoulin). — Marchal, Paris. — Cauderay, Paris. — Lefebvre, Clermont (Oise). — Madame Lefebvre, Clermont (Oise). — Vincent, Paris. — Herbin, Essies (Aisne). — Duvernoy, Saint-Eloy, près Sceaux. — Euvremer, Coutances. — Mullot, Pont-Sainte-Maxence (Oise). — Gallois, Jaux (Oise). — Soliniac, Champaix (Puy-de-Dôme). — Jacquemart, Châlons-sur-Marne. — Corette de Rubempré (Châlons-sur-Marne). — Blain, La Pyramide (Maine-et-Loire). — Carlier, rue Malar (Gros-Caillou). — Vieville, Paris. —Sauvlet, Paris. — Lebaux, Paris. — Huart, Friancourt (Somme). — Laffile, Friancourt (Somme). — Capron, Paris. — Madame Capron, Paris. — Bertrand, Paris. — Sauvan, Paris. — Degauffrier, Paris. — Gaillard, Coutances (Manche). — Bessin, Paris. — Roy, Bourgoin (Isère). — Langles, Soissons (Aisne). — De Larivière (C.-I.), Saint-Ouen, près Paris. — De Larivière (J.-J.) Saint-Ouen, près Paris. — Verdollin, Paris. — Dutertre, Paris. — Angelot, Paris. — Bouchard, Aubenat (Ardèche). — Thénard, Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine). — Jacob, Paris. — Dejanet, Paris. — Fabvre, Roux (Charente-Inférieure). — Tullon, Pont-l'Evêque. — Labot, Paris. — Régat, Batignolles (Seine). — Geoffray, Belleville-sur-Saône. — Fluchaire, Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhone). — Madame Follet, née Petit, Neuilly-sur-Seine. — Lefur, La Roche-Bernard (Morbihan). — Bailly, La Roche-Bernard (Morbihan). — Beroux, Paris. — Bicheron, Soissons (Aisne). — Robert, Bohain (Aisne). — Magne, Aurillac (Cantal). — Chauvet, Saint-Jean-sur-Moivre (Maine). — Morgon, Thoissey (Aisne). — Poulain, Granville (Manche). — Simon, Paris. — Trigalet, Gand (Belgique). — Soulevin, Prunet (Ardèche). — Roland, Paris. — Mademoiselle Leroy, Theix (Morbihan). — Delvinne, Bruxelles. — Vanmerbeeck, Bruxelles. — Swertz, Tongres (Belgique). — Begond, Verviers (Belgique). — Boucherie, Saint-Vinnemer (Yonne). — Madame Boucherie, Saint-Vinnemer (Yonne). — Youssoloff, Neuwied. — Van Green, Cologne. — Dechizelles, Dusseldorf. — Perters, Francfort. — Glagmanf, Hombourg. — Hermann, Rotterdam. — Van de Woord, Coblentz. — Colombany, Corse. — Touzalny, Corse. — Boucqueau, Bruxelles. — Van de Mayer, Cassel. — M. Weill, Francfort-sur-le-Mein. — Daniesky, Prague. — Willmann, Mayence. — Benazech, Corte. — Omooer, Irlande. — Offredy, Ecosse. — Bressac, Stephen, etc. etc.

THIRD EXPEDITION BY THE *Uncas*

Sailed from Anvers, June 15, 1850.

Gérard, Bruxelles. — Segaud, Paris. — Tabachi, Trente (Italie). — Drouaillet, Verdun. — Jacques, Mons (Hainaut). — Skall (Hongrie). — Villierme, Chambéry (Savoie). — Huguenin, Mirebeau (Côte-d'Or). — Ferrand, Briançon (Yonne). — Lefeuvres, Paris. — Loizeau, Azé (Loir-et-Cher). — Melinghoffen, Hoch-Emmerich (Prusse). — Bourgeois, Bruxelles. — Hecquet, Dous (Hainaut). — Decoster, Malignes (Belgique. — D'Oltremont, Anvers. — Aubaille (B.) Paris. — Dubois de Jongh, Bruxelles. — Van Dedem, Puten (Hollande). — Paris, Rattignies (Hollande). — Van Dedem, Eden-Gueldre (Hollande). — Blin, Beaumont. — Assy, Paris.— Porcheron, La Rochelle (Charente-Inférieure). — Paillat, Caen (Calvados). — Baron Guérin de la Houssaie, Pont-le-Voye (Loir-et-Cher). — Gueniffey, Bourges (Cher). — Lionet, Annonay (Ardèche). — Thévain, Paris. — Gohy, Ensival (Belgique). — Hébert, Valognes (Manche). — Vitte, Montdidier (Somme). — Degrange, Florennes. — Charree, Commercy (Meuse). — Boltz-d'Eslon, Thann (Haut-Rhin). — Kinet, Paris. — Goubet, Verlon-Baillou, près Amiens (Somme). — Soudanas, Limoges (Haute-Vienne). — Rouillard, Amiens (Somme). — Van Hoeter, Bruxelles. — Prévost (E.), Braine-le-Comte. — Prévost (H.), Saintes. — Lambin, St.-Jean-sur-Moivre. — Maurice, Brégy (Marne). — Costerauste, Paris. — Durand, Attigneville (Vosges). — Jomber aîné, Saucoins (Cher). — Blanc fils, Pöele-Célard (Drôme). — Garson, Paris. — Muller, Paris. — Jay, Paris. — Malherbe, Beauvoir (Manche). — Perguy, Lodhem, près de Bruges. — Janets, Paris. — Thuillier, Amiens (Somme). — Ménager (J.), Chartres (Eure-et-Loir). — Ménager (A.), *id.* — Vigeannel, Sémilly (Haute-Marne). — Gaud, Aurillac (Cantal). — Largillière, Paris. — Thabourin, Heurville (Haute-Marne). — Jugeau, Guénégat (Finistère). — Rochefort, Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). — Bernard, Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Charente-Inférieure). — Euwaert, Autryve (Belgique). — Chevalier, Buisson (Côte-d'Or). — Perrier, Saint-Maurice (Ardèche). — Debreaux, Contrisson (Meuse). — Hobert, Andernay (Meuse). — Millevert, Previs (Belgique). — Van de Butte, Leffinghe, près Bruges. — Vanel, Lyon (Rhône). — Vanderlooy, Bruxelles. — Lary, Paris. — Magnin, Varennes-les-Macons (Saône-et-Loire). — Faure, Lussas (Ardèche). — Amblard, Lussas (Ardèche). — Groz, Paris. — Hof, Bruxelles. — Jourdain, Bruxelles. — Turgot, Paris. — Labitte, Paris. — Tiffoinet, Saint-Léger (Deux-Sèvres). — Valleron, Nîmes (Gard). — Dechamps, Bréval (Seine-et-Oise). — Nautel, Liége (Belgique). — De Faveause, Liége (Belgique). — Ménard, Pontorson (Manche). — Decaen, Pontorson (Manche). — Eaguais, Cormeray (Manche). — Besnou, Pontorson (Manche). — Boudin, Dandemarie-sur-Loing (Loiret). — Madame Boudin, *id.* — Buhours, Paris. — Madame Buhours, *id.* — Philippi, Belgrade (Namur). — Marin, Paris. — Joly, Pont-de-Royde (Doubs). — Cardinet, Paris. — De Wiers, Blaton (Hainaut). — Ghilain, Jemmapes (Belgique). — Vigier, Paris. — Charvet, Lemay, Seine-et-Oise. — Tscharner, à S'Josse ten noode Les Bruxelles. — Pollart, Masnay-Saint-Jean. — Delvingne, Tournay (Belgique). — Poissonnier, Mons (Belgique). — Lardet, Dijon (Côte-d'Or). — Juge, Marsanay-la-Côte (Côte d'Or). — Pigeon, Paris. — Grart, Bruxelles. — Van Assche, Bruxelles. — Mertens, Bruxelles. — Edeline, Tournay (Belgique). — Sierens, Mariakerke. — Lambert, Paris. — Boucher, Paris. — Renon, Brux-

elles. — Brisson, Marimont-lez Marlauwels. — Madame veuve Teppe, Lyon. — Tremplier, Bruxelles. — Bocquot, Anvers. — Le comte Van der Noot, Bruxelles. — La comtesse Vander Noot, *id.* — Van Erven Dorens, Amsterdam. — Wodon, Liége. — Dehayes, Namur. — Pieron. — Pureur Grégoire, Paul, Pajolec, Plasse, Berger, Ledigabel, Legonasse, de Paux, Barthélemy, Verdisson, Paris, etc. etc.

FOURTH EXPEDITION BY THE *Louisiana*

Sailed from Le Havre, July 23, 1850.

Bacon, Marciac (Gers). — Bresse, Paris. — Legrand, Senlis (Oise). — Gerard, Lille. — Johnson, Brixton, près Londres. — Martel, Brixton, près Londres. — Maillard, Saint-Vigor-d'Imouville. — Vidal, Paris. — Gait, Saint-Amand-du-Monde. — Coellier, Limeray. — Chailley, Paris. — Gourmel, Bois (Ile de Ré). — Mathieu, Sarreguemine (Moselle). — Frémon, Lardivy (Mayenne). — Chaussade, Lelongey (Côte-d'Or). — Hardouin, Angers. — Boulanger, Bavay (Nord). — Lagarde, Paris. — Millois, Fresnay. — De Lorme, Dol. — Amyot, Boué. — Dezaux, Paris. — Bouchery, Bruxelles. — Delaunay, Bruxelles. — Angot, Argentan. — Renoult, Paris. — Poyet, Paris. — Jeannot, Mirabel (Jura). — Montferrier, Paris. — Merle, Laroquebron. — Desprez, Paris. — Reven, Marseilles. — Gondouin, Rasnes. — Lottin, Bruxelles. — Leseur, Paris. — Chalopin, Choisy-le-Roi. — Locher, Paris. — Combe, Mayrus (Ardèche). — Cuvreau, Paris. — Morin, Bois (Ile de Ré). — Buchin, Dijon. — Joly, Versailles. — Queille, Angoulême — Gachot, Véronnes-les-G. — Payelle, Lumbres. — Pralon, Lyon. — Bresson, Dijon. — Lachave, Blivas. — Autin, Villiers — Saint-Sulpice. — Hocquart, Gien. — Hébert, Dijon. — Dalibout, Montargis. — Marche, Paris. — Laveryère, Paris. — Remy, Paris. — Lherbon, Paris. — Rivière de la Flèche, Havre. — Stavetot, Bruxelles. — Van de Sype, Fransne (Belgique). — Delaporte, Paris. — Bunont, Havre. — Ledoux, Fosse, Belgique. — Frappeniers, Bruxelles. — Porquerel, Paris. — Presta, Paris. — Autour, Paris. — Charpentier, Lagney. — Haro, Paris. — Beaudin, Paris. — Hanot, Paris. — Camus, *id.* — Paigne, *id.* — Fabien, *id.* — Ruyault, *id.* — etc., etc.

On the whole, these lists seem to provide a fair sample of the French people as it was constituted at the time. A very large proportion came from the provinces, from small towns and villages, and we may surmise that all professions and occupations were represented. Nothing was said about the political affiliations of the passengers, except in the case of the leaders and technicians. Many were probably small farmers; there was even a slight sprinkling of names belonging to the nobility. It was as if an infinitesimal portion of the French territory had been carved out of the country, to be bodily transported to the Pacific Coast; and this may help to explain why the so-called "French colony" of San Francisco has so long preserved the characteristics of a "Little France." It will also be noted that unattached women did not join the expeditions: the only women listed here, and probably the only ones acceptable to the company, with one exception, were accompanied by their husbands. Mademoiselle Leroy, from Theix (Morbihan), mentioned on the second list, was probably the daughter or sister of Jean-Aristide Leroy, *conducteur des travaux*, who came from the same town. The proportion of names from Belgium, on the third and fourth lists, also indicates that the Belgian branch of the company must have been fairly successful. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of *La Californienne*, and whatever the losses of the shareholders, its performance was not entirely negative; it achieved at least part of its program by sending a comparatively large number of not dishonorable French people to the new Eldorado.

The publicity continued unabated during the latter part of the summer. On August 24, the *Société du Commerce de San-Francisco* called attention to the fact that the English societies which were so prosperous were exclusively devoted to commerce and did not send out any organizations of workers. Experience had fully demonstrated that the workers could not be depended on to live up to their contracts. All of them after landing deserted the companies and rushed to the gold fields. In their newspaper, significantly called *Le Nouveau Monde*, Louis Blanc and his group could extoll *la sainte Association*. It had broken down in California. The society had consequently decided to restrict its activities to the shipping of merchandise, and had already sent 200,000 francs worth of goods to San Francisco.

Such pessimistic views were not entertained by MM. Vigourel and Cie., 20 rue Neuve de Saint-Augustin. They were impelled by very philanthropic considerations and devised a system which would give a chance to every investor to go to California for the most moderate sum of 10 francs *(Pour dix francs on peut aller en Californie)*. They added that "from calculations based upon unquestionable data, each share should increase fourteen times in value a year; as the society was established for 9 years, the total value at the end of that period would be 1,260 for a 10-franc share, and 12,600 for a 100-franc share. This investment was particularly recommended to members of the clergy, municipal councils, benevolent societies and people of moderate means. "The investors would at the same time strike a good bargain and make a safe and profitable investment with a very small sum; they would also enable men of intelligence and approved morality to make use of the offer of the company and go to California."

Le Sacramento, with a capital of 4,000,000 francs and shares starting at 10 francs, was splendidly organized. On each ship chartered by the company would sail a director, a chaplain, an engineer, a doctor, a bookkeeper, a purser, and three women, "preferably sisters of charity," to mend the clothes of the workers. The first sailing, on the *Anna,* was announced from Le Havre for September 30.

No potential source of profit was left unexplored. *La Société Immobilière de San Francisco* with a capital of 2,500,000 francs specialized in fire-proof constructions, which could not fail to appeal to the Californians, and was planning to start with the building and exploitation of commercial buildings, namely a hotel and a market. The promised profits were moderate; for an investment of 100 francs the expected yearly return was only 250 francs.

In September, the publicity gradually tapered down. On September 10, *La Californienne* paid the regular interest of 5% to the shareholders, but there was no mention of dividends. *La Toison d'Or,* whose director was Admiral Arnoux Dessaulsayes, *grand-croix de la Légion d'Honneur,* purchased a dredge of most interesting design and published a picture of it; but it is very likely that the machine was never shipped to California. *Le Pactole,* optimistically established for ten years, promised 80% of its profits to the shareholders; but *La Gerbe d'Or,* after many efforts could enlist only thirty associated workers, although the society pledged to take care of their families and guaranteed that each of them would make at least 120,000 francs a year. With more practical sense, *Le Comptoir Général de la Californie,* on October 22, proclaimed that the formula of association had been a complete failure and that banking and the handling of money was the only promising business which could be undertaken in California.

At the end of the year, however, an interesting attempt was made to salvage at least a few companies. Giving up all extravagant claims, the *Almanach Californien pour 1851,* published by Martinon, *libraire-éditeur,* undertook to present an objective picture of the situation. After the general intelligence common to all almanacs came a survey of California entitled *La Californie vue sous toutes ses faces,* largely derived from the book of Hippolyte Ferry, *Description de la Nouvelle-Californie* (Paris, 1850). For almost eighty pages, the compiler stuck to his text, gave figures and statistics, and apparently made no effort to minimize the hardships and trials awaiting the French miners in California. Many had been disappointed in their expectations, gold was no longer found on the surface of the soil, and only sturdy farmers and expert miners had any chance of success. But how could one be entirely discouraged on reading the letter in which a French miner, writing to his mother "from Mariposa, in the Sierra-Nevada," told the good woman how he had discovered a pocket of gold worth about 200,000 francs after digging ten feet deep into the ground? In the last pages, the anonymous writer gave his conclusions: (1) Enormous treasures still exist in California and can be dug out with hard work; (2) The ever increasing number of immigrants creates an ever increasing demand for goods for which their weight in gold is paid; (3) The isolated worker has no chance whatsoever to obtain a good claim and to overcome the difficulties and obstacles which confront the newcomers. The system of societies or associations is the only one which permits miners, tradesmen and investors who are not very wealthy to obtain their share of the riches of this "new Peru."

Then follows some information on the *Compagnies californiennes* which, as far as one could judge, were being managed honestly and efficiently; but the anonymous writer inadvertently gave them away when he added that the companies themselves had provided the information. There we find again the same companies which had filled the back page of the *Journal des Débats* with blatant advertising for a year and a half. Now they were singing the same song in a minor key. *La Fortune, La Californie, La Commerciale* listed all their achievements, but in no case did they mention dividends. Particularly interesting, however, was *La Bretonne*, boasting of having sent altogether two hundred emigrants to California, with the purpose of establishing an agricultural colony. After this swan song, the *Compagnies californiennes* seem to have vanished into thin air; their disappearance was almost instantaneous, at any rate they suddenly stopped their publicity.

We shall not have to go very far to find an explanation for this complete silence. It resulted from "the nature of things," as Etienne Derbec, the founder of the San Francisco *L'Echo du Pacifique*, had shown in his letters printed during the year in the *Journal des Débats*. On January 18, 1851, *L'Illustration* reprinted in lieu of a funeral oration one of the most vehement of Derbec's denunciations. It sums up the situation so well that it could serve as a conclusion to the history of this particular phase of the French emigration:

> I cannot conclude this letter without saying a few words about the societies of all kinds which are still organized in France, with California as their ultimate destination. I shall not say a word about gold; my letters written from the gold fields, provided they have reached you, contained sufficient information upon this subject. I dare say that if they were not as rich in gold as the columns of the American papers, it was because I had not the same motives as they had to disguise and conceal the truth. On the contrary, I considered it my duty to give you the facts, with the most scrupulous exactness, according to your own request. After spending nine or ten months in the mining camp, I am back again, and the first thing I read in the papers is a flat denial written by the promoters of these societies. Now, I wish to repeat today what I wrote in January and February and to maintain it in the most categorical manner. During that lapse of time, I saw many men and many things; I visited many gold fields; I talked with many miners; but what I have never found yet is a single society capable of resisting liquidation or dissolution for a single hour. Really, what could they liquidate? Generally, complete destitution befalls the workers as soon as they land, for nothing can give an idea of the lack of foresight of the men who ship to California these unfortunate fellows. If they receive a few provisions, and in that case the fact is highly advertised, it is impossible for them to make use of them, for they cannot afford to pay the freight, the duty, and the cost of unloading. They are sent to California as if one wished to get rid of them, but not without exacting from them enormous premiums. Consequently, any society that does not break down during the passage cannot fail to

> do so after the partners land; even if it should survive for a short day, it could not do violence to the nature of things and it would swiftly follow the fate of all the others. The latest papers received tell us that, even today, many new such societies are being formed, with different programs, and that shares are divided into small parts, probably to enable the poor, who cannot afford to pay a thousand francs for their passage, to share in the treasures of California.
>
> Now, Sir, even if I should arouse against myself a general outcry of indignation, I should wish to shout the truth from the housetops; and this is the truth, such as I see it: any person who has paid in any money to any of these societies can be absolutely sure never to recover a centime of it; there is every reason to believe that this money is lost beyond any hope of recovery; and as far as California gold is concerned, the shareholders may as well endure the waiting patiently; they will probably never see the color of it. Among such societies, I include even those that are directed by men of high honesty and prompted by the best motives, for even they cannot achieve the impossible.

By the end of 1850, both investors and directors of the *Compagnies californiennes* had become aware of these sad truths. "Liquidation indeed," had written Derbec, "there is nothing to liquidate." Gradually the public had lost interest in the mines and had been educated through the very energetic counterattack conducted in the newspapers and periodicals against the golden mirage. The few enthusiastic letters from successful miners exploited by the promoters were offset by the discouraging news coming from California: camps and cities destroyed by fire, riots, crimes, drunkenness, gambling, unfair treatment of the foreign miners. In announcing, on October 12, 1850, the Sacramento fire of August, *L'Illustration* summed up the general impression: "We have no details, but already we can say: if it is not true it ought to be true" *(On manque encore de détails, mais on peut dire d'avance: si cela n'est pas, cela doit être).*

This opposition to the *Compagnies californiennes* was not entirely disinterested. In the tidal wave of speculation and gambling then engulfing the French public, the California companies encountered the opposition of formidable competitors. Besides the more or less legitimate enterprises launched every day, lotteries of every sort, including a governmental lottery, held out prizes tempting even to the most penurious people. The name of the master of psychology who was the first to have the idea of combining both the lure of gold and the lottery appeal is not known. The fact is that the disappearance of the *Compagnies californiennes* coincided with the rise of the famous *Loterie des Lingots d'Or.* Why should anyone risk his life in the California adventure! Indeed, why should anyone invest 1,000, or 100, or even 10 francs, when gold could be had in Paris? There was no citizen of France, poor as he might be, no woman or child who, for one franc, could not buy a chance to win one of the 244 gold bars, *lingots d'or*, offered as prizes. Two hundred and twenty-four prizes in gold, the first prize being a gold bar, or brick, worth 400,000 francs, a whole range of smaller prizes, and finally two hundred prizes of 1,000 francs! The grand prize, a gold ingot cast by the widow Lyon-Alemand et fils, gold merchants, rue des Lombards, 13, was exhibited in the window of the bank on the Boulevards, and could be seen and tested by the incredulous. The story of the *Lingots d'Or* would deserve a special study. Authorized in May 1850, the sale of the tickets lasted until November 15 of the following year. At first frowned upon by the government, it was soon taken in hand by the regular authorities[11], when it was realized that the proceeds of the lottery would pay for the passage of 6,000 emigrants to California. It was an extraordinary opportunity both to reward some friends in need and, at the same time, to get rid of some troublesome elements in the Parisian populace. Already, at the beginning of 1850, the Government had shipped to California 140 officers and non-commissioned officers of the *Garde Mobile*, a corps of volunteers who, after helping in repressing street riots in 1848, had become somewhat obnoxious. Now, it had become possible to send to California men who were experts in the building of barricades, in fact the very men who had been imperfectly subdued by the *Gardes Mobiles*, in 1848 and 1849. In this policy, there was a sort of paradoxical touch which must have appealed to the artistic imagination of the man who was soon to become Emperor of the French.

For eighteen months, the *Loterie des Lingots d'Or* occupied the center of the stage. Over 6,200,000 tickets were sold; the total of the prizes amounted to 1,200,000 francs, and the names of the winners were published soon after the drawing. Most of the prizes went to the "small people" of Paris and the provinces, day workers, fishmongers, servants, seamstresses; the grand prize was won by "Louis-Médard Yvonnet, *vigneron*, commune de Bouzy, canton d'Ay, arrondissement de Reims, Marne." Out of the proceeds, carefully picked emigrants were sent to California in small groups. The story of how more than 3,500 of them finally reached San Francisco, and how, on the American soil, they became reconciled with the very men against whom they had fought in France in an atrocious civil war would form another highly picturesque chapter of the history of the French in California.

In this long and yet exceedingly incomplete essay, we have deliberately neglected many of the important implications of a much larger subject. In France proper, the story of the emigration is so mixed with political conspiracies, financial combinations, misery, greed, despair, and humanitarian idealism that to disentangle the skein would call for the literary genius of Honoré de Balzac. Perhaps, we have said enough if we have shown that although Paris more particularly, and France in general suffered from an acute attack of the gold fever, many considerations besides the *auri sacra fames* directed the course of the French emigration during the short duration of the Second Republic.

The campaign of publicity and the promotion of emigration companies also should not be ascribed to a single motive. The movement was frowned upon and encouraged in turn by the Government. It was represented as a miraculous means for investors and *rentiers,* big or small, to recoup their recent losses. The promoters attempted to exploit the gullibility, gambling spirit, and escapism of people who were going through a period of extraordinary political confusion. They also made an appeal to the socialistic ideology current at the time and made continuous use of the magic formulas of "harmony, association, profit-sharing, co-ownership." California was depicted as an Eldorado, and more often as an earthly Paradise where the honest and land-hungry peasantry of Europe could expand and prosper almost indefinitely. At the same time, the conservative people were assured that the loss of so many impoverished, famished, and turbulent elements in the French population would be a definite gain for the country. Nothing that could be said was left unsaid. Despite a few discordant notes, it seems that almost everybody joined in the chorus and sang: "Let's go to California." What they really meant was: "Let them go to California," for the final results of this high-pressure campaign of publicity were comparatively small. At its peak, during the Gold Rush, the French population of California hardly reached a total of 25,000, and not more than 10,000 came directly from France. When two or three hundred emigrants per month were sailing from France, thousands were leaving the British Isles and Germany.[12] Those who went were in a large majority merchants, tradesmen, artisans and farmers with a sprinkling of artists and adventurers. But on the whole, the French gold seekers preferred to carry out their operations at home.

On the other hand, the story of the emigrants after they reached California remains to be told. No detailed account can be given here, but at least one aspect of social history of the "French colony" deserves particular attention, the more so as in California the French emigrants displayed qualities which are not generally granted to the French people. When they were about to sail from Le Havre, the first group of emigrants, or rather "associated workers," sent out by *La Californienne* drank several toasts "*A l'Union, A la Concorde.*" We should not too hastily conclude from the fact that the companies were dissolved as soon as the emigrants reached San Francisco that those were empty words. Even their bitter disappointment could not convince them that the "principle of association" under which they had organized was just an imposition. Several of them formed new associations such as the *Projet d'association agricole pour la Californie*[13] and settled in different parts of California. Those who stayed in San Francisco established the first savings bank to be opened in the city and, as early as December 1851, they started the organization of the association which was to become the *Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle de San Francisco.* Despite the gloomy prognostics of Derbec, the *association sacrée* had not been a complete failure.

NOTES

1. Phil Townsend Hanna, *California through Four Centuries; a Handbook of Memorable Historical Dates* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), p. 95.

2. Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 70-71.

3. Paris, France, *Le Journal des Débats,* November 13, 1848.

4. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1849.

5. Trény, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47, and 48.

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

7. *Journal des Débats,* April 25, 1850. An undated page from *Le Charivari,* in the library of the California Historical Society, also contains an advertisement of this company, as well as one for *Maisons en Californie,* a "company for the sale in California of 50 houses of wood or of iron." The houses were to be prefabricated *(toutes construites).*

8. See also "Des Millions pour un sou!" reproduced in this *Quarterly,* XI (March 1932), pp. 40-41.

9. A page from a June 1850 issue of *Le Charivari,* in the California Historical Society's library, shows a picture of this machine.

10. See also Note 7.

11. The office of the lottery was in the "Palais National . . . dans la Cour d'honneur, place du Palais-National," according to a ticket formerly in the possession of Mr. J. Delabriandais, of the French Book Store, San Francisco.

12. See, for instance, Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California," in this *Quarterly,* XX (March 1941), pp. 65-79.

13. See Gilbert Chinard. "Projet d'association agricole pour la Californie," *Bulletin de L'Institut Français de Washington,* XII (December 1939).

Letter of Dr. John Marsh to Hon. Lewis Cass

INTRODUCTION

EARLY in 1846, Dr. John Marsh, one of California's most enthusiastic "boosters" and early promoters of immigration, wrote from his ranch in what is now Contra Costa County to his friend Lewis Cass a letter in ardent praise of the Mexican province. Cass had been governor of Michigan Territory and superintendent of Indian Affairs, Minister to France, Democratic nominee for the presidency (in 1844), and a member of the United States Senate, and was now intensely interested in the Oregon country. Thomas O. Larkin, United States consul at Monterey, had written to Dr. Marsh the previous July, as follows:

> Now you as a settler and extensive landholder in California have a great interest in this stake. The new settlers at the Oregon are running down California while I am engaged in running it up. They publish in American papers that we have no timber; no rain; that we have to send to Oregon even for flour . . .
>
> I should like to have you . . . come forth into the field and write for the country you intend to live in. You are a good writer, know well the country, its people and resources, its climate, rivers, bays and soil; whether it will grow hemp, cotton, wheat, or corn, wild or cultivated fruit. Do by all means . . . write everything you can regarding California, and I will have it published in the New York papers . . . I assure you your letters will be copied into every paper . . . Write everything you know respecting English agents or consul control or her projects, all you know respecting the Hudson's Bay Company agents, trading, smuggling in California, aiding revolution, acting for or counteracting the supreme or local government in any way.
>
> . . . Do not let the new settlers in Oregon cry down California. Awake! . . .[1]

On receipt of Marsh's letter, Cass did, indeed, hand it over to the press, and it was copied and recopied all over the country. Reaching the attention of President Polk, it is said to have influenced him in his prosecution of the war with Mexico and to have strengthened his decision to secure California for the United States. In 1866 the letter was reprinted in the *Contra Costa County Gazette*, and in 1878 in *Illustrations of Contra Costa County. California, with Historical Sketch* (Oakland: Smith & Elliott); it has also appeared in other county histories, as well as in the *Overland Monthly*, XV (February 1890). A copy in Marsh's handwriting—apparently a draft made before the letter was finally sent—is in the collection of Dr. George D. Lyman, of San Francisco. This is printed below, with additions from the version in the *Illustrations of Contra Costa Co.* inserted in brackets.

DOCTOR MARSH'S LETTER

Farm of Pulpun near
St Francisco, Upper California
Jany 20, 1846.

Dear Sir

You will probably be somewhat surprised to receive a letter from an individual from whom you probably have not heard or even thought of for nearly twenty years, yet although the lapse of time has wrought many changes both in men & things the personal identity of us both has probably been left. You will I think remember a youth whom you met at Green Bay in 1825 who having left his Alma Mater had spent a year or two in the far far West, and was then returning to his New England home & whom you induced to turn his face again toward the setting sun; that youth who but for your influence would probably now have been administering pills in some quiet Yankee village is now a greyhaired man rearing cattle & cultivating grapevines on the shores of the Pacific. Your benevolence prompted you to take an interest in the fortunes of that youth, & it is therefore presumed you may not be unwilling to hear from him again. I left the U. States in 1835 and came to New-Mexico & thence traversing the states of Chihuahua and Sonora crossed the Rio Colorado at its junction with the Gila near the tide water of the gulph and entered this territory at its southern part. Any more direct route from the U. States was at that time unknown & considered impracticable. I have now been more than ten years in this country, & have travelled over all the inhabited, & most of the uninhabited parts of it. I have resided eight years where I now live near the Bay of San Francisco, & at the point where the rivers Sacramento & San Joaquin unite together & meet the tide water of the bay, about forty miles from the ocean. I possess at this place a farm about 10 miles by 12 in extent, one side of which borders on the river & which is navigable to this place for seagoing vessels. I have at last found the "far west," and intend to end my ramblings here.

I perceive by the public papers that this region of country including that immediately north of it, which until lately was the most completely a terra incognita, of any portion of the globe is at length attracting the attention of the U. States & Europe. The world at length seem to have become awake to the natural advantages of California & Oregon and it seems probable that at the moment I am writing their political destinies are about being settled at least for a long period to come. I mention the two countries together because I concieve the future destiny of the whole region to be one and inseperable. The natural conformation of the country strongly indicates it, & a sympathy & fellow feeling in the inhabitants is taking place which must soon bring about the consummation. California as well as Oregon is rapidly peopling with emigrants from the U. States. Even the inhabitants of Spanish origin, tired of anarchy & misrule would be glad to come under the American government. The Govᵗ of the U. States in encouraging & facilitating emigration to Oregon, is in fact helping to people California. It is like the British govt sending settlers to Canada. The emigrants are well aware of the vast superiority of California both in soil and climate, & I may add in facility of access. Every year shorter & better routes are being discovered & the present season the great desideratum of a good & practicable road for wheel carriages has been found. Fifty three waggons with that number of families have arrived safely, & more than a month earlier than any previous company. The U. States govt encourage emigration to Oregon by giving gratuitously tracts of some five or six hundred acres of land to each family of actual settlers. California too, gives lands not by acres but by leagues, & has some thousands of leagues more to give to any body who will occupy them. Never less than one leage has been given, & the wide world from which to select of all the unoccupied lands in the territory. While Col Almonte the minister of Mexico, or rather of Santanna [Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna] in Washington, is publishing his proclamations in the newspapers of the U. States forbidding people to emigrate to California & telling them that no lands will be given them; the the actual Govᵗ. here is doing just the contrary. In fact they care about as much for the Govᵗ of Mexico as for that of Japan

It has been usual to state the inhabitants of Upper California at 5,000 persons of Spanish descent and 20,000 Indians. This estimate may have been near the truth twenty years ago. At present the population may be stated in round numbers at 7,000 Spaniards, 10,000 civilized or rather domesticated Indians. To this may be added about 700 Americans; 100 English Irish & Scotch and about 100 French Italians & Germans. Within the territorial limits of Upper California, taking the paralel of 42° for the northern & the Rio Colorado as the S.E. boundary, are an immense number of wild, naked, brute Indians. Their numbers of course can only be conjectured. They probably exeed a million & may perhaps amount to double that number. The far famed Missions of California no longer exist. They have all been broken up and the lands apportioned out into farms. They were certainly magnificent ecclesiastical baronies and although their existence was quite incompatible with the general prosperity of the country it seems almost a pity to see their downfall. The immense piles of buildings & beautiful vineyards & orchards are all that remain, with the exception of two in the southern part of the territory which still retain a small remnant of their former prosperity.

[Then follows a repetition of the latter half of the first paragraph.]

The climate of California is remarkably differen[t] from that of the United States. It[s] great distinguishing difference is its regularity & uniformity. From May to October the wind is invariably from the N.W. &

during this time it never rains & the sky is very clear & serene. The weather during this period is warm but rarely so oppressively hot as is sometimes known even in the northern parts of the U. States. The nights always agreeably cool. From October to May the S.E. wind frequently blows & always brings rain. Snow never falls except on the mountains. Frosts are rare except during December & Jany. (A proof of the mildness of the climate has at this instant presented itself in the shape of a humming bird—at the open window. Lat. 28° Feby 1st.) Wheat is sown from October until March & maiz[e] from March until July. As respects human health & comfort the climate is incomparably better than that of any portion of the U. States. It is the most healthy country I have ever seen or have any knowledge of There is no disease whatever that can be attributed to the influence of the climate.

The face of the country differs as much from the U. States as the climate. The whole territory is traversed by ranges of mountains which run paralel to each other & to the coast. The highest points of the mountains may be about 4,000 ft above the sea, in most places much lower & in many places dwindle to low hills. They are everywhere covered with grass and vegetation & many of the vallies & no[r]thern declivities covered with the finest timber trees. Betwe[e]n these ranges of mountains are level vallies or rather plains of every width from five miles to fifty. The magnificent valley through which flows the Sacramento & St Joaquin is five hundred miles long with an average breadth of forty or fifty. It is also intersected laterally by many smaller rivers abounding with salmon. The only inhabitants of this valley are about 150 Americans & a few indians. No published maps that I have seen give any correct idea of the country excepting the outline of the coast. The bay of St Francisco is considered by nautical men one of the finest harbours in the world. [It consists of two principal arms, diverging from the entrance in nearly opposite directions, and each about fifty miles long, with an average width of eight or ten.] It is perfectly sheltered from every wind, has great depth of water, is easily accessible at all times & space enough to hold half the ships in the world. The entrance is scarcely a mile wide & might easily be fortified so as to render it entirely impregnible. The vicinity abounds in the finest timber for ship building & in short every thing necessary to make it a great naval & comme[r]cial depot, & if it was in the hands of a nation who knew how to make use of it, its influence would soon be felt in all the western coast of America & probably through the whole Pacific.

[I think it cannot long remain in the hands of its present owners. If it does not come into possession of Americans, the English will have it. This port in their hands, what will Oregon be worth to the United States? They loudly threaten to get possession of Cuba as an offset against Texas. Will they not be quite as likely to obtain California, as an offset against Oregon? A British ship of war was here last summer, whose captain was a brother of Lord Aberdeen, and one of her lieutenants a son of Sir R. Peel. The gentlemen declared openly that this port would shortly belong to them. This I take to be only a slight ebullition of John Bullism, but that they want this port, and will have it if possible, there can be no doubt, consummation most earnestly and ardently to be deprecated by every American. I hope it may direct your views to take an interest in this matter.]

The Agricultural capabilities as yet are but very imperfec[t]ly developed. The whole of it remarkably adapted to the cu[l]ture of the vine. Wine & brandy of excell[e]nt quality are made in considerable quantities. Olives, figs & almonds grow well. Apples, pears & peaches are abundant & in the southern part oranges. Cotton is beginning to be cultivated & succeeds well It is the finest country for wheat, I have ever seen. Fifty for one is a average crop with very imperfect cultivation. One Hundredfold is not uncommon & even a hundred & fifty has been produced. Maiz succeeds tolerably well but not equal to some parts of the U. States. Hemp, flax & tobacco have been cultivated on a small scale & succeed well. The rearing of cattle is the principal pursuit of the inhabitants & and the most profitable.

To be added Commerce – mode of communication – politicks

The foreign commerce of Upper California employs from ten to fifteen sail of vessels, mostly large ships. Somewhat more than half of these are American & b[e]long exclusively to the port of Boston. The others are English, French, Russian Mexican Peruvian & Hawaiian. The French from their islands in the Pacific, & the Russians from Kamschatka & their establishments on the N.W. coast resort here for provisions & live stock. The exports consist of Hides, Tallow, cows lard wheat, soap, timber & furs. There are slaughtered annually about 100,000 head of cattle worth about 800,000 dolls. The whole value of the exports probably amounts to about 1,000,000 dolls. The largest item of the imports is American cotton goods. The duties on impor[t]s are enormously high, amounting on the most important articles to 150 per ct on the original cost, and in many instances to 4 or 500. Thus a bounty is paid to encourage smuggling. Whale ships visit St Francisco annually in considerable numbers for refreshments & fail not to profit by the facilities for illicit commerce. California although nominally belonging to Mexico is about as independent of it as Texas & must ere long share the same fate. Since my residence here, no less than four Mexican governors have been driven from the country by force of arms. The last Mexican governor with about 400 soldiers & 100 employes were driven away about a year ago. He was a par[t]izan of Santanna. This occurred at the same time the rest of the nation was expelling his master, although nothing of all this was known here at the time. The new administration therefore with a good grace highly approved of our conduct. In fact the different successive administrations in Mexico have always shown a disposition to sanction & approve of whatever we may do here, from a conscious [i]nability [t]o retain even a nominal dominion over the country by any other means. Upper California has for the last year been governed entirely by its own citizens. Lower California is in general an uninhabited & uninhabitable desert. The scanty population it contains live near the extremity of the Cape, & have no connexion & little intercourse with this part of the country. Upper California has a productive Gold mine & silver ore has been found in several places. A mine of Quicksilver has very lately been found in this vicinity which promises to be very valuable.[2]

I know not since you have so long been engaged in more weighty concerns, if you take the same interest as formerly in Indian affairs, but since I have supposed your personal identity to remain I shall venture a few remarks on the Aborigines of California.

In stature the Californian indian rather exceeds the average of the tribes east of the mountains. He is heavier limbed & stouter built. They are a hairy race & some of them have beards that would do honour to a Turk. The complexion similar to that of the Algonquin race or perhaps a little lighter. The visage short & broad, with wide mouth thick lips, short broad nose & extremely low forehead. In some individ[ual]s the hair grows quite down to the eyebrows & they may be said to have no forehead at all. Some few have that peculiar conformation of they eye so remarkable in the Chinese & Tartar races & entirely different from the common American Indian or the Polynesian. With this unpromising set of features some have animated & agre[e]able expression of countenance. The general expression of countenance of the wild Indian has nothing of the proud & lofty bearing or of the haughtiness or ferocity so often seen east of the mountains. It is more commonly indicative of timidity & stupidity. The men & children are absolutely and entirely naked & the dress of the women is the least possible or concieveable remove[d] from absolute nudity. Their food varies with the season. In February & March they live on grass & herbage. Clover & wild pea vine are among the best of their pasturage. I have often seen hundreds of them grazing together in a meadow like so many cattle. Fish & waterfowl are important articles. They also collect in their season great quantities of the seeds of various grasses, which are peculiarly abundant. Acorns is another principal article of food, which are larger, more abundant & of much better quality than I have seen elsewhere. The Californian is not more different from the tribes east of the mountains in his physical, than in his moral & intellectual qualities. They are easily domesticated, not averse to [labor, have a][3] natural aptitude to learn mechanical trades & I believe [universally] a fondness for music & a facility in learning it. The Mission of St Joseph when in its prosperity had a hundred ploughmen & I have seen them all at work together in one field with each his plough. It had also [fifty] weavers, twenty tanners, thirty shoemakers, forty masons twenty carpenters ten blacksmiths & various other mechanicks, all Indians. They are not nearly so much addicted to intoxication as is common to other Indians. I was for some years of the opinion that they were an entirely different race from those east of the mountains & they certainly have but little in common with them. The only thing that caused me to think differently, is that they have the same Mocasin game that is so common on the borders of the Mississippi & what is mo[r]e remarkab[l]e they accompany it by singing precisely the same tune! The diversity of languages is very great. It is seldom an Indian can understand another who lives fifty miles distant. Within the limits of California [there are] at least a hundred dialects apparently entirely dissimilar. Few or no white persons have taken any pains to learn them, as there are individuals in all the tribes who have any communication with the settlemen[t]s who speak Spanish. [The remainder of the letter is from the printed version.] The children, when caught young, are most easily domesticated, and manifest a great aptitude to learn whatever is taught them; when taken into Spanish families, and treated with kindness, in a few months they learn the language and habits of their masters. When they come to maturity they show no disposition to return to the savage state. The mind of the wild Indian, of whatever age, appears to be a *tabula rasa*, on which no impressions, except those of mere animal nature, have been made, and ready to receive any impress whatever. I remember a remark of yours some years ago, that "Indians were only grown up children." Here we have a real race of infants. In many recent instances when a family of white people have taken a farm in the vicinity of an Indian village, in a short time they would have the whole tribe for willing serfs. They submit to flagellation with more humility than the negroes. Nothing more is necessary for their complete subjugation but kindness in the beginning, and a little well timed severity when manifestly deserved. It is common for the white man to ask the Indian, when the latter has committed any fault, how many lashes he thinks he deserves. The Indian, with a simplicity and humility almost inconceivable, replies ten or twenty, according to his opinion of the magnitude of the offense. The white man then orders another Indian to inflict the punishment, which is received without the least sign of resentment or discontent. This I have myself witnessed or I could hardly have believed it. Throughout all California the Indians are the principal laborers; without them the business of the country could hardly be carried on.

I fear the unexpected length of this desultory epistle will be tedious to you, but I hope it will serve at least to diversify your correspondence. If I can afford you any information, or be serviceable to you in any way, I beg you to command me. Any communication to me can be sent through the American Minister at Mexico, or the Commanding Officer of the Squadron in the Pacific, directed to the care of T. O. Larkin, Esq., American Consul in Monterey. I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN MARSH.

Hon. Lewis Cass.

NOTES

1. Thomas O. Larkin to John Marsh, July 8, 1845 (original MS in Marsh Papers, California State Library, Sacramento).

2. In Dr. Lyman's manuscript this paragraph follows the next two which are printed here in the order in which they appear in *Illustrations of Contra Costa Co.*

3. A blot occurs at this point, in the manuscript. The words have been supplied from the printed version.

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura

John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company

Edited by Alice Bay Maloney

(December 1832, Continued)

Friday 7 Fine weather. Continued our route 10 miles S. down the river and encamped on the big river. Here we met two men C. Charpentier & J. Boileau on their way to Fort Vancouver with letters, these men belong to the party of trappers under M. Laframboise who left Vancouver in April[81] last with orders to hunt along the sea coast, but they deviated from their instructions and proceeded straight to this river where they arrived in August and have trapped it all from where we are here downward as well as the bay so that after all our long journey here there are no beaver remaining for our party. Mr. C. F. McLoughlin had no idea that these people had come here as I had a letter from him after my arrival at fort Nezperces, dated 21 Augt 1832, stating that he had had intelligence from this party that they were hunting along the coast and could not reach the valley this fall. Thus by their not attending to their instructions the coast where they were directed to go remains unhunted and this quarter which was left for our party is hunted. There are also a party of Americans under Mr. Young[82] below. M. Laframboise's party[83] made canoes opposite where we are encamped on the opposite side of the river, their hunt amounts to 950 beaver, which is far short of the number expected to be found, so that the account given of this quarter was greatly exagerated. The canoe men came all to the camp Only 2 beaver taken. A village of Indians below were very troublesome & without any provocation threw stones & shot their arrows at the people. Our men did not fire upon them owing to two canoes being behind. This is the first instance of a disposition to be hostile which we have experienced among them. Nor have they notwithstanding their numbers touched the traps except two which they stole at a camp above. These very Indians who were so troublesome to our people were equally so to Michel's party and stole several of their traps. Two cabrie were killed.

Saturday 8 Overcast lowering weather. Raised camp and proceeded S.E.E. 10 miles across a point to deception creek[84]. The canoe men left their canoes as there was no prospect of catching any more beaver in the big river and the road which we have to pass is some distance from the river they could not keep along with the camp, we will probably find the want of the canoes crossing the river below. Sent off one of Michel's men accompanied by one of ours with a note to Michel expressing a wish to see him as soon as possible that I may determine from his information where it will be most eligible [?] to winter. I also want to have some information relative to the route along the coast. The men themselves who are going with the letters say that a delay of some time can make little difference to them in crossing the mountains[85]. I have therefore detained them until I see Michel so that I may write to the Fort by them. Michel is coming this way and I expect is not far off his letters dated 2 inst. Only 4 beaver taken. The hunters killed 19 elk, they are all very lean.

Sunday 9 Overcast weather, very heavy rain in the evening. Notwithstanding the unfavourable appearance of the weather, there being no grass, for the horses we raised camp and proceeded 11 miles S.S.W. down the fork to the end of the bite where there is good grass.[86] Several of the men are out hunting and have not yet arrived, probably night came on them & they could not find the camp. J. Toupin accompanied by a W.W. Indian[87] who is with him remained behind yesterday to set his traps and sleep out with them, the Indian came to the camp this morning & said he had lost his horse & that he had separated from Toupin & not seen him [since] last night. he was sent of immediately to find Toupin & to bring him to the camp but neither of them has yet arrived.

Monday 10 Very heavy rain in the night & greater part of the day. Did not raise camp. The men who slept out last night arrived in the morning, they slept close to the camp. Toupin's Indian also arrived & said first that he had come for traps but afterwards that he had seen nothing of Toupin. I am getting alarmed for the safety of this man he was to remain only one night. The Indians may take advantage of finding him alone. It is but a short time since he recovered of the ague it may attack him again. Some of the men set their traps yesterday & today in the little river and [in] some small lakes & swamps which are about 8 beaver taken and 3 grizzle bears & 3 deer killed.

Tuesday 11 Heavy rain in the night & heavy during the day. Did not raise camp. Sent off ten men to seek Toupin. They are ordered should they find him killed by the Indians to endeavour to punish the murderer immediately should they find themselves able, but unless they were sure that such was the case they have strict orders on no account to injure an Indian or quarrel with them. Toupin arrived shortly after their departure so that they will have their journey for nothing. he was not in the same direction so that they will be able to find no trace of him. A party of 26 Indians visited the camp today, their camp is not far off, they were very civil to one of the men who passed their huts. Some of them had blankets made of feathers and rabbit skins about their shoulders and a few of them had themselves covered from the neck to the knees with long grass or straw and may be properly said to be thatched. They got some pieces of meat and other trifles among the people.

Wednesday 12 Stormy with rain in the night & all day. The water rising fast. Did not raise camp. Our horses feed well here & there are plenty of elk, cabrie & some bears for the people to subsist on.

Thursday 13 A storm of wind with excessive heavy rain in the night, showery during the day. The water rose greatly in the night. On our arrival here there was only a small pond now the whole low place is in a lake. About the half of our horses were found on a small point surrounded by water in the morning and were with difficulty got out, one was drowned. Some of the men who had traps set cannot approach them these two days. The men who were off in search of Toupin returned.

Friday 14 Rain in the night, foggy showery weather during the day. The water continued rising and continues overflowing the lower part of the plains. Did not raise camp. All hands out hunting, 9 elk and 5 grizzle bears killed, elk are very numerous about the hill.

Saturday 15 Foggy, fair weather. The water still rising it approached to very near our lodges in the night. Raised camp and proceeded 7 miles E. across the N.E. end of the Bute[88] & encamped at a fountain where there is good feeding for the horses. The men whom I sent off on the 8th inst with the letter to M. Laframboise returned accompanied by two others. They found Michel nearly the same place where they left him, it seems he has altered his plan of ascending the river & means to return below here he is afraid of not being able to leave for the want of animals this way. They have got themselves lately into some trouble with the Indians who are stealing their horses notwithstanding they keep up the guard.

Sunday 16 Thick fog all day. Did not raise camp. The hunters out 2 beaver, 3 elk & 2 Deer killed.

Monday 17 Still thick foggy weather. The hunters out but with little success, only 1 Elk & 3 deer killed. The fog is so dense that the animals start before they are seen.

Tuesday 18 Foggy weather. Did not raise camp. The hunters out — 1 Bear, 1 Elk & 1 Deer killed. The men visited their traps which have been some days under water & could not be got at, 8 beaver taken & 3 traps lost. Sent off three of the men from the camp below with a letter to M. Laframboise.[89] One of the men Boileau remains here sick. I intended to send these men on with the letters to Vancouver immediately but was detained from doing so on account of this man being sick and it only he that knows the road.

Wednesday 19 Still foggy. A shower of rain in the evening. The hunters out, 10 elk & a deer killed—2 beaver taken. Some of the men went to set traps in the little forks behind & found the Indians disposed to be troublesome.

Thursday 20 Foggy weather. The hunters out & killed 1 bear, 10 elk & 1 deer. Animals are plentiful all around. Some of the men went to feather river[90] ahead & set their traps.

Friday 21 Foggy in the morning, fine sunshining weather afterwards. This is the first time the sun has appeared for several days. The hunters killed 28 bichi[91] 5 beaver taken. I went to the highest peak of the bute[92] to have a view of the country round about.

Saturday 22 Overcast stormy weather, some rain in the evening. 8 elk killed & 2 beaver taken. Some more of the men off setting traps.

Sunday 23 Stormy with rain in the night, blowing fresh during the day. Four elk were killed along side of this camp. Late in the evening M. Laframboise arrived from his camp accompanied by four men. They left yesterday. Mr. Young the leader of the American party had returned from the Spaniards with a few supplies and a reinforcement for his party principally sailors, his party now amounts to 30 men, they had crossed over to the W. side of the river.

Monday 24 Heavy rain in the night. Stormy showery weather during the day. The hunters not out today.

Tuesday 25 Stormy showery weather. The water rising fast and the plain overflowing.

Wednesday 26 Rained all night and a storm of wind with excessive heavy rain during the day. Our lodges are not able to resist the rain it passes through them so that we are little better than if we were out of doors. The water is rising fast in a small creek that runs past the camp it has risen several feet during the day.

Thursday 27 Stormy with very heavy rain in the night & heavy rain in the afterpart of the day. M. Laframboise & his party started on their return to their camp early in the morning.[93] The bad weather prevented them from starting yesterday. Michel is to send off some men to cross the river and ascertain the best road to the high land on the W. Side of it. As soon as the weather is favourable we are to proceed to below where there is a good traverse.

Friday 28 Excessive heavy rain in the night. Stormy with some light showers during the day. Did not raise camp today in order that the ground might dry a little. The low ground is all in water and in many places overflowed, it will be difficult to pass the horses sink so.

Saturday 29 Stormy showery weather, a good deal of rain in the night. The water in the little creek which passes the camp fell a little during the day. Went to visit the road which the camp has to pass, that by the plain is impassable, but by cutting across the bute there is a passage by which with some difficulty we may get out. The bute is almost completely surrounded with water & where there is a little spot of dry ground it is so soft that the horses bog in it. Some of the hunters were out & killed 2 biche.

Sunday 30 Fair weather in the morning, but very heavy rain in the afternoon. The water subsided a good deal in the night and during the day. Raised camp and cut across the bute where we encamped. The road exceedingly soft & miry, the horses nearly bogging in it, where we are encamped was two days ago overflowed.

Monday 31 Some light showers. Raised camp and proceeded across the low ground to feather river 12 miles E. The road through woods the most of the way, & very soft and miry several places still some depth of water upon the ground. As we approached the river the ground became higher & dryer & the road better. The water in the river has fallen within these few days near 6 feet. Louis Shanagorati, one of the men who started with M. Laframboise on the 27th came to the camp this evening. He says that on the other side of this river he separated from the party to seek a horse which he had left and not finding him, he was not able to pass by the usual road and returned to follow the rest of the party, the Indians attempted to pillage him, when he killed two of them, after which he fled to another village & recrossed the river with difficulty had to leave his horse by the way and proceeded afoot to our station at the bute & then followed us here he says the country towards the lower part of the river is all under water. I suspect his story can be but little relied upon. On reaching the river today we met a party of near 200 Indians several of them loaded with antelope meat. It appears that in company with the inhabitants of some villages below they had been out hunting. Their mode is to surround the herd when they probably kill the whole. Some of our hunters were out and found one place where they had killed 64 within very small compass, indeed several of them were in a heap. Very few of them seemed to be armed. Some of them had bows and arrows and a few of them short lances pointed with stones.[94]

January 1833, Thursday 1 Some light showers during the day. The water in the river fell near four feet during the night & rose about 5 inches during the day:— Did not raise camp. The men according to custom were treated with a dram of rum & some cakes each.

Wednesday 2 White frost in the morning, cold but fair weather during the day the wind from the Northward. The water fell 1½ feet during the night. Raised camp and proceeded down the river 9 Miles S. As we descend the river the ground is becoming softer. The hunters were out and killed 4 Antelopes. They saw some tracks of elk but could not come up with them on account of the softness of the ground. The Indians are exceedingly numerous along the river. Our days journey was but short yet we passed 6 villages & are encamped near another, the inhabitants of each must amount to some hundreds.[95] The country must be rich in resources when such numbers of people find subsistence, as far as we can discover at present they are living mostly on acorns. They are catching a few salmon, the large white kind.

Thursday 3 Frost in the morning, fine weather during the day. Moved a few miles farther down the river, to near where the low ground is all under water, I afterwards descended along the banks of the river to past the usual traverse,[96] to near the big river. There is but a small strip along the bank of the river dry & the river is within 1½ feet of overflowing its banks, a few days ago the river could not have been approached. We cannot cross it here now, and even could we it would be imprudent to risk with the camp when with a night or twos heavy rain we might lose all our horses & perhaps ourselves. There are several villages of Indians near our camp but they must be very nearly overflowed when the water is high.[97] We must now return up the river[98] and proceed along the high land towards the mountains & if the dry weather continues and the waters fall so much that we can venture to cross the big river below we may fall upon it by the little Camass river.[99] Louis the Iroquoy found his horse which he left behind some days ago.

Friday 4 Frost in the night. Wind Northern, raw cold but fair weather during the day. Returned up the river and encamped at a suitable place to cross along side of an Indian village. The Indians use as canoes two flat logs of wood tied together, they are of pine or cedar probably obtained from the mountains.[100] Our people have borrowed all that the Indians have & by tying two or three of them together make good rafts & have everything ready to cross tomorrow. I counted 28 houses in this village. They are sunk a considerable distance in the earth and covered with clay & resemble a round hillock.

Saturday 5 Frost in the morning raw cold weather during the day. Crossed the river all safe except one poor horse which was drowned, & encamped on the east side of it.

Sunday 6 Weather as yesterday. Raised camp & proceeded up the river to the fork & then up the E. fork 10 miles N. and encamped on a dry plain not far from the mountains.[101] The road the greater part of the way soft & miry & pools of water all along a short distance from the river. The hunters out and killed 19 Elk & 3 Chivereau. Some of the men were also out with their traps 8 beaver were taken. Sent off two men Dechamp & Louis with a letter to M. Laframboise, if they can make their way to where he is. I am anxious for the safety of his party, as the people say where he was encamped the ground is low. I have desired him to come & join me if the big river cannot be crossed as I fear it cannot, so that we may return up the river & cross it above.

Monday 7 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The people out hunting but without success except 1 Elk— 2 Beaver taken and some more traps set.

Tuesday 8 Heavy rain in the night & greater part of the day. Did not raise camp on account of the bad weather. The people visited their traps & some who slept out returned. 10 beaver taken.

Wednesday 9 Frost in the night raw cold weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 10 miles S.E. across the plain a short distance from the mountain and in a short distance from it, and encamped on a small creek where the ground has been very lately under water.[102] This was a severe day's journey both on the people and horses. Many of the horses notwithstanding they are in good condition, with difficulty reached the camp & some were left on the way, it was after dark before the people all arrived. The ground is so soft that the horses were wading up to the belly the most of the way through mud and water; many places so deep that they with difficulty dragged themselves out. Some of the people remained behind with their traps & some are on ahead. 2 beaver taken in the morning.

Thursday 10 Fine weather. Sharp frost in the night. Proceeded 4 miles farther on across the point of a hill to another pretty large fork[103] where there is a good encampment. The people who slept out arrived with 10 [18?] beaver. The men who remained behind had a trap & a beaver stolen by the Indians. The Indians are very quiet when they see the people altogether, but when they find only one or two by themselves their conduct alters. Several of the people out hunting but without success, there are the tracks of a chance deer and some Antelopes but not a vestige of elk nor did we see a mark of any during these two days journey. The deer and antelopes are so shy that they cannot be approached. When Mr. Ogden[104] passed here there were plenty of elk, it is singular there are none now. Not finding elk here as we expected is a great disappointment as many of the people have very little to eat. The scarcity is partly their own fault as they did not dry a sufficiency of meat when they might have done so. In the evening L. Pichette and Carpenteur arrived from M. Laframboise's Camp which they left on this side of Camass river three days ago. Michel is coming on this evening to join us, they experienced much difficulty on account of the high water which had pent them in on a small spot where they were several days that they could not stir, & starving at the same time as there were no animals to be found. The big river cannot be crossed below as the plain on the other side is all under water. The Americans had crossed and were obliged to come back again & are also coming this way. Under these circumstances we must also turn back where we may find some elk to subsist on about the Bute which we left on the 30th Ult. My object in coming this way was to endeavour to effect a passage across the big river below and thence straight to the mountains on the W. side of it, in order to be ready as soon as the season would admit to cross the mountains and hunt along the seacoast & the rivers that may fall into it. Had we passed near where any horses were to be obtained I wished to allow the people an opportunity to furnish themselves with a few to eat in order to be provided against the worst should we pass through any place where animals could not be obtained. We have plenty of horses for our work but few to spare to kill should we fall short of food.

Friday 11 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The people out hunting but without success the chance deer or cabrie to be found here are so shy that it is very difficult to approach them, they are much hunted by the Indians. The two men that arrived yesterday saw some elk in the plain near the big river a days journey from here but they are among lakes and the ground so soft that it would be very difficult to get to them. In the evening two Americans arrived starving, they left their party three days ago & had eat nothing since. We furnished them with food & lodging. They stated that their party are coming on this way in hopes of being able to cross the big river above & make their way to the Spanish Mission of St. Noma, where they say they can obtain cattle for the trouble of killing them, and returning the skins dried to the Spaniards. For some time back they have been very short of food and obliged to eat several of their horses.

Saturday 12 Thick drizzly rain in the afternoon. Raised camp and returned to the small creek above where we encamped on the 9th.[105] The ground very soft.

Sunday 13 Cold, cloudy weather. Continued our journey along a ridge of hills near the mountains and arrived late in the evening at our station of the 8th.[106] The road in places very soft, but much better than in the plain. The hunters out & fell in near the river with a large band of Antelopes & a small band of elk, but the ground is so soft that the horses could not come up with them & only 2 elk & one antelope were killed. There are a good many deer and antelopes about this place but they are very shy and difficult to approach.

Monday 14 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. All hands out hunting. Killed 3 Antelopes and 1 elk, 11 beaver taken. M. Laferte & J. Toupin who had remained behind with their traps came up with the camp. Toupin in crossing a river was carried down the stream horse and all & lost his gun.

Tuesday 15 Sharp frost in the morning fine weather during the day. Did not raise camp. Only one beaver taken. The hunters out but only one bear and 1 deer killed.

Wednesday 16 Frost in the night fine weather during the day. Raised camp and crossed over to the N. side of the river.[107] The people out & set some traps, 4 beaver taken. One chivereau killed. In the evening M. Laframboise arrived with his party. On account of the deep miry road they had a good deal of difficulty in getting this length. They are also short of food, as animals are scarce the road they came. Another of his men

Turner[108] has left him and gone to the Americans but he paid his debt & delivered up his traps and horses before he went off.

Thursday 17 Frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Did not raise camp. The hunters out & saw several deer but killed only 3.

Friday 18 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 15 miles S.W. to the main fork of Feather river which we crossed immediately[109] fortunately we were able to ford it, which saved us a good deal of trouble. The hunters were out but with little success.

Saturday 19 Heavy rain in the night and the greater part of the day. Did not move camp. The people started to hunt but the bad weather turned them back. Sent two young men to sleep at the Bute & ascertain whether there are elk as when we left it.

Sunday 20 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. The people out hunting and killed some deer, but it is nothing among many people. The young men who went to the Bute returned with the pleasing intelligence that elk are there in abundance. This is a fortunate circumstance, as our party is now very large and the most of them have very little to eat, we will now be able to dry some meat to serve us till we get across the river above, as it is apprehended that animals are scarce there.

Monday 21 Some rain, forenoon. Had got under way to move camp when it was found that 26 horses were missing they had crossed the river in the night and when they were found it was too late to raise camp. Two are not yet found. Some of the hunters arrived with meat. Those who went to the Bute yesterday have killed a number of elk.

Tuesday 22 Fine weather. Raised camp & proceeded to the Bute a distance of 18 miles,[110] where we encamped in an excellent situation for the horses. The road is in many places still soft and fatiguing on the horses, but considerably dried since we left on the 31st ult. Several of the people arrived with meat, they have a great deal still in cache, these two days past they have killed in all 52 elk & 1 bear. My party 28 men, 22 women, 44 children & 6 Indians, in all 100. Michel's [Laframboise'] party 18 men, 12 women, 16 children, 17 Indians, in all 63, total 163 persons.[111]

Wednesday 23 Fine weather. All hands out hunting and the women in the camp busily employed drying meat and dressing the skins. 81 elk, 10 deer & 1 bear killed. Many of the people kill much more meat than is required, but when the young men see the animals, they can scarcely withhold from firing upon them notwithstanding the ammunition is scarce & that they have more meat than they require. The animals are mostly very lean.

Thursday 24 Fine weather. Several of the people again out hunting, 23 elk, 6 deer & 1 antelope killed. The continual hunting is driving off the herds of female elk, there are still great numbers of bucks but they are very lean. The Indians are spread over the country where they hear the people firing and if an animal or some meat is left they take it off immediately.

Friday 25 Cloudy, fine weather. The people again out hunting but did not kill so many animals as these days past. Gave orders to all hands to collect & prepare skins to make canoes when we have to cross rivers too deep to ford.

Saturday 26 Fine weather during the day, stormy in the night. Some of the people out hunting but killed little.

Sunday 27 Thick fog the forepart of the day. Cloudy lowering weather afterwards. Some of the people who were out in the plains hunting since yesterday returned, they killed 14 elk. Two young men who were sent to the fork at the big river to ascertain what route the Americans had taken, returned, they report that they learned from the Indians that they had returned to make the best of their way to the Mission, not being able to cross the big river. Plenty of elk among the oaks in the low ground.

Monday 28 Heavy rain in the night. Dry weather blowing fresh during the day. Some of the people out hunting but with little success.

Tuesday 29 Rained in the night & heavy rain & stormy the greater part of the day, a violent thunder storm in the night, and some thunder in the afterpart of the day. The ground which had become a little dry is again so soft with this rain that the horses nearly bog in it.

Wednesday 30 Thunder and lightning with rain during the night, showery during the day. Some of the people out hunting. 2 bears, a few deer & some elk were killed.

Thursday 31 Stormy in the night with rain showery during the day. Some of the people out hunting.

Friday, Feb. 1 Foggy the forepart of the day. Showery in the afternoon. Some of the people out hunting.

Saturday 2 Foggy in the morning. Showery towards evening. The water is rising rapidly. A great deal of the ground which was dry when we came here is now overflowed. The hunters out but with but little success. The continual hunting is driving off the animals that are not killed.

Sunday 3 Heavy rain in the night and stormy with heavy rain all day. This continued bad weather is rendering the ground even softer than it was in the beginning of January, and rising the water fast.

Monday 4 Overcast showery weather. Some of the people out hunting they complain that the ground has become so soft that even on the hills the horses are bogging. Some elk are coming in to the hill from the low ground which is probably overflowing.

Tuesday 5 Cloudy fair weather. The weather being pretty clear I went to the Bute accompanied by Michel to take a view of the appearance of the country round about. We are now nearly on an island as the bute is surrounded nearly with water. The hunters out & killed.

Wednesday 6 Foggy in the morning, fine weather afterward. The hunters out & killed.

Thursday 7 Fine warm weather. The birds are beginning to pair and singing as in the spring. A great many Indians came to the Bute from the big fork and were running the elk afoot.[112] Our hunters were out but with little success.

Friday 8 Thick fog in the morning, fine weather afterwards. The hunters out but with little success. Some Indians visited us and carried off some spoiled meat which they were glad to get.

Saturday 9 Stormy in the night with a little rain raw cold weather during the day. The hunters killed some elk and several deer.

Sunday 10 Stormy in the night and stormy cold weather during the day.

Monday 11 Stormy in the night and all day. The people out hunting & killed 7 elk & 6 Deer.

Tuesday 12 Stormy in the night and forepart of the day. This dry windy weather is drying the ground considerably, the water is also falling in the plain which was lately all under water, several spots are bare.

Wednesday 13 Cloudy cold weather forepart of the day. The hunters again out, some of them in pursuit of Bears but with little success. The bears are in the rocks and difficult to get at. Only 2 were killed, but 14 elk and several Deer were killed. The elk and Deer are getting leaner daily, probably on account of being continually hunted and not getting quietness to feed.

Thursday 14 A heavy shower of rain in the night, fine weather during the day. M. Laframboise, accompanied by four men, started to go down to Feather fork & the big river to ascertain what route the Americans have taken, they will be two or three days before they get back. Some Indians visited the camp & got a little meat from the people. The hunters out & killed 3 elk, 3 Deer and a bear.

Friday 15 Rained the greater part of the night, fair weather during the day.—6 elk and 2 deer were killed. The Animals are becoming very scarce the constant hunting is driving them off from the bute.

Saturday 16 Rain and sleet in the night, fair weather during the day. The hills grey with snow in the morning which is the first snow we have seen near us this winter it disappears during the day. M. Laframboise & his party arrived in the afternoon afoot, the Indians at Feather river stole their horses last night,[113] this is the first trick of the kind they have played upon us yet. We must not allow them to pass with it. Michel reports that he could not approach the big river as its banks are overflowed but he sent some of the men across feather river near the big river but could see no vestige or hear any intelligence of the Americans or what route they have taken, it is conjectured they have turned back as from the state of the water there is no likelihood that they would be able to cross the big river.

Sunday 17 Sharp frost in the morning fine weather during the day. Sent off M. Laframboise with 37 men to seek the stolen horses & if they can to punish the thieves. They are directed to avoid bloodshed if possible quarrels with the natives are by all means to be avoided but on occasions like the present it cannot be well got off with.

Monday 18 Frost in the morning fine weather afterwards. Michel & party returned, they found the horses at the village. They had been stolen by two Indians, the other Indians pointed out one of the thieves and he got a good whipping which it is expected will deter him from doing so again.

Tuesday 19 Fine weather. The hunters were out and killed 4 elk, 12 deer & 1 bear. Some Indians visited the camp & got a little meat among the people.

Wednesday 20 Fine weather. The people out hunting and killed 1 elk and 12 deer. This fine weather is drying up the high ground considerably and the water is subsiding greatly but the low ground even where the water is dried off is still very miry and some places the hunters find it difficult to pass with their horses.

Thursday 21 Fine weather. The people out hunting but with little success 3 elk and 8 deer killed. Some Indians visited us and got a little meat from the people.

Friday 22 Fine weather. Prepared to raise camp tomorrow and proceed along the mountains and seek a good place to cross the big river above as we can have no hopes of being able to cross it below till the season would be too far advanced. We will find the road still very soft and miry and be obliged to go far about but animals are become scarcer here and we must move to find others. We have been a month here and could not have fallen on a better place to pass a part of the dead winter season when nothing could be done in the way of trapping on account of the height of the waters. There was excellent feeding for the horses, and abundance of Animals for the people to subsist on, 395 elk, 148 deer, 17 bears & 8 antelopes have been killed in a month which is certainly a great many more than was required, but when the most of the people have ammunition and see animals they must needs fire upon them let them be wanted or not. The Animals for a considerable time back have been in general very lean, indeed they could not be expected to be otherwise being hunted without intermission.

Saturday 23 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 18 miles N.N.E. to the station which we left on the 22nd Jan. this was the only way by which we would well get out from the Bute. The road is drier than when we last passed but some places are still very miry & fatiguing on the horses. The water in the river is a little higher than when we were last here.

Some of the people came ahead yesterday with their traps but caught only two beaver. Some of the men also went by the little fork to the North of the bute to see if any thing was to be got there they will meet the camp about the upper part of it. Several of the people out hunting but only one deer was killed. The plain a little way out from the river is represented as being still practically under water and so soft that it is scarcely passable with light horses.

Sunday 24 Fine weather. Continued our journey 15 miles N.N.W. up the river to near the mountains.[114] The road good along the river but for a considerable way during the afterpart of the day, from the appearance of drift wood the country is liable to be overflowed during high water, though it is pretty thickly wooded with oak timber. The hunters were out but killed only one young elk. Some of the men who started up deception creek[115] two days ago returned they caught only one beaver, the river can scarcely be approached, the plains are still under water on both sides of it. L. Pichette had two traps stolen by the Indians on deception river but could not find the thieves. The Indians are very numerous here in about 1½ hours march after we started this morning we passed four villages with 40 to 50 persons in each and there is another large village a little way ahead of us.[116] The country must be rich in resources for food or so many people could not subsist, the only provisions which we have mostly found among them during the winter is Acorns of which they have large stock laid up. We find them employed fishing but the quantity they take at this season is probably not considerable, their wears seem to be neglected — they are also seen out in the plains when overflowed with nets set for wild-fowl, they have stuffed skins of geese as decoys, they must take a good many of these at times, as their only clothing, a small square blanket which barely covers their body from the shoulders down to the buttocks are made of feathers.

Monday 25 Fine weather. Left the river and continued our route 14 miles N.W. along the foot of the high land at the base of the mountain to a small creek where we encamped the ground where we are encamped has been not long since under water, this pretty good but in places very miry and soft, in all the little gullies there is still water and not many days since the road would not have been passable and we would have found it difficult to pass now had we not followed an Indian road which is well beaten.[117] The hunters out and killed 7 Cabrie, no appearance of elk to be seen.

Tuesday 26 Rained the greater part of the day. Notwithstanding the unfavourable appearance of the weather in the morning, being in an unfavourable situation which [with] a little rain is liable to be overflowed, we were induced to raise camp and proceed 10 [11?] miles N.W. to across deception river. The road even with the little rain which has fallen is become exceedingly miry and the hindmost of the camp found it difficult to pass without boging their horses, it was bad marching and very fatiguing both on horses and people, and a good deal of the baggage was wet before we could encamp. Some of the people who had been ahead hunting joined us, they had very little success, only 1 Otter & 2 Deer. There is a large camp of Indians a short way below us. Where we are encamped is near the mountain, the bank of the river is well wooded with oak and other trees, and though the ground is very soft it does not appear liable to be overflowed.

Wednesday 27 Rained the greater part of the night and the forepart of the day. Did not raise camp on account of the bad weather. Several of the people were out hunting but killed only 3 deer. There are the tracks of deer but they are very shy besides the weather is unfavourable for hunting.

Thursday 28 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 16 miles N.W. along the high ground near the mountain to a small creek.[118] The road in many places so very soft and miry that the horses were bogging in it, this was a very fatiguing day both on people & horses, both were covered with mud on arrival at the camp. The hunters were out but killed nothing, there are the tracks of deer but they are so shy that it [is] scarcely possible to approach them. The country is full of Indians they are spread over the plain and gathering & eating different kinds of herbs like the beasts.[119] A kind of small clover and a plant resembling parsley seem to be the two principal.[120]

Mar. 1833 Friday 1 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. One of the men Dechamp lost his horse and lodge yesterday which he went back to seek and did not return to [till] this morning when he brought the horse and said the Indians had taken the lodge. Some men were sent off with him to recover it they found it where it had fallen off the horse, the Indians had not touched it. Several of the men went to the big river to set their traps. M. Laframboise went with two of the young men to examine the road to the big river, it will be passable but there will be some difficulty in crossing some swamps. Some of the hunters were out. Several deer & plenty of tracks but only one deer was killed.

Saturday 2 Rained the afterpart of the night and nearly all day. The bad weather deterred us from raising camp. Several of the people who were out with their traps arrived but with little success. A bear and a deer were killed. The rain has rendered it very bad traveling.

Sunday 3 Fine weather. Raised camp and went to the big river 15 miles S.W. The road very bad part of the way, for a considerable distance the horses had to walk through a swamp. A good deal of the baggage was wet. A bear and a few deer were killed. Some of the people set their traps.

Wednesday 4 Fine weather. Moved a few miles down the river to our station of the 5 Dec.[121] which is a good place to cross the river, and set the people to work immediately to make skin canoes, five were completed by the evening. The water is higher by 2 or 3 feet than when we were last here, though the banks are 15 to 20 feet high they were overflowed during the heavy rains in the winter. 1 Deer killed, 2 beaver taken.

Tuesday 5 Fine weather. Had all hands at work early in the morning and by midday had baggage, horses and all across the river. Several of the people out setting their traps. Several of the hunters were out, 3 elk, 1 deer & 1 antelope killed. There are the marks of some elk being about, and many of the people are in much need of a supply for notwithstanding the numbers of animals killed at the Bute they have scarcely a mouthful of dry meat, indeed several of them dried very little. The very lean meat when dried is scarcely eatable. Yesterday two traps had been stolen by the Indians, they were recovered with the skin of a beaver that had been in one of them. Another trap that had been stolen when the people passed here last summer was also recovered. The Indians seem to steal the traps principally for the sake of the beaver that is in them.

Wednesday 6 Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the people to hunt and provide a little meat. Several of the people have also traps set. 10 beaver taken, 2 elk & a few antelopes killed. The elk here are in much better order than on the other side of the river.

Thursday 7 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 10 miles S.W. out to a little river near the mountains.[122] The road good, but in places a little soft, the country clear of woods, the plain as well as the first ridge of hills. The hunters out & killed a few elk and antelopes. Elk are not very numerous, but antelopes are in abundance, but they are shy and difficult to approach. Some of the hunters fell in with a large camp of Indians behind the first ridge of hills, they made them understand that nearly all the men were gone to war to the Northward.

Friday 8 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 18 miles S.S.W. across the plain to a small creek of brackish water, where there is a small tuft of willow bushes[123] which is the only wood within sight. this was a long hard days march, the ground in places very soft and fatiguing on the horses, indeed several places would have been impassable. The hunters were out & killed a few elk & antelopes. Antelopes are numerous, there are also some elk but they are very shy. The road we passed today, the plains are strewed with horns which shew that elk winter here, but they seem from the tracks not to have been numerous.

Saturday 9 Overcast, threatening rain in the morning. Did not raise camp on account of the appearance of bad weather and our next days journey being a very long one on account of no wood being near. The people out hunting but with little success. The few elk that are to be met with are very shy only 4 were killed.

Sunday 10 Rained in the night and the greater part of the day.

The bad weather deterred us from raising camp. The hunters out but with little success.

Monday 11 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded 9 miles W.S.W. to a small creek at the foot of the mountains where there is a small tuft of willows which is the only wood to be seen, the first range of hills being destitute of timber. We were obliged to take into the foot of the mountain, as some of the hunters who were out yesterday brought us news that the road we meant to pursue out in the plain is impassable for the camp on account of lakes and swamps. Where we are encamped is on a small running stream,[124] yet the water bad, of a brackish taste. The road today in places very soft and swampy, not long since it would have been difficult to pass. The hunters met with little success, only 4 antelope, there are very few deer here in the mountains and these very shy.

Tuesday 12 Thick fog in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Continued our route 22 miles S. along the foot of the mountain to a small creek among some oak trees which is the only wood we have met with during the day. The water here is also bad. The road today in many places even worse than yesterday, every little ravine is like a swamp that the horses find much difficulty in wading across it. This was a hard day both on horses & people, but there was no place to put up nearer. The hunters killed 2 elk & a few cabrie. There are very few tracks of elk except a few down towards the big river. There are numbers of Indians in the mountains all the way.

Wednesday 13 Cloudy stormy weather forepart of the day. Continued our route, 8 miles E.S.E. along a low range of hills which here puts out from the main ridge of mountains towards the river.[125] These hills & the border of the plain are pretty well wooded. Went to the highest ridge of mountains in the afternoon to ascertain the appearance of the country behind, as far as we could see with the glass it is a continuation of rugged hills. The hunters were out and killed only a bear & a few antelopes; there are very few tracks of animals though the mountain appears very well adapted for deer. The hunters saw the track of a pretty large herd of elk going towards the big river. The water here is also brackish.

Thursday 14 Some light rain forepart of the day. Did not raise camp in order that the people might go in pursuit of the elk where tracks were seen yesterday, as it is doubtful whether we will find any ahead & many of the people have very little provisions. The elk had crossed a lake towards the big river and could not be followed, so that our day is lost for nothing.

Friday 15 Fine weather. Continued our course around the point of woods to towards the foot of the mountain and encamped at what was some time ago a pretty large river but which is now dry except a few small holes of water scarcely sufficient to furnish drink for our horses. Our road for some time back would be impassable in the dry season for want of water. The hunters killed a few cabrie. There are plenty of these animals in the plains but very few of any else. Some of the men who have been ahead since the 7th Inst. returned and state that they saw the tracks of the Americans it appears they effected a passage across the big river below & have gone across the mountains at a small river[126] a days journey ahead Their tracks appear pretty old.

Saturday 16 Fine weather. Proceeded on our journey along the foot of the mountain to the river above aluded to 18 miles S.S.W.[127] The road in many places still very soft, and down along the big river is still a chain of lakes. Sent Michel and two men up the river to the mountain to ascertain what direction the Americans have taken, they have crossed the mountain to the Westward and fallen upon a north fork which is supposed to be the head of another stream a days journey farther on. Some indians who were met with by signs made it be understood that this was a road to the Mission & that they had gone that way. if this be so it is probable the road on this side of the mountain was impassable at the time they passed as it is still very soft. There is a difference of opinion among the people as to what time they passed some say 10 some 20 & some 30 days, they appear not to have many horses or mules. The hunters killed some antelopes & deer there are a good many tracks of deer and bears in the mountain. Some Indians were met coming from the big river & some fine [?] Salmon got from them. The party who were ahead all came to the camp they killed 34 beaver during the trip.

Sunday 17 Cloudy weather, some light rain in the morning. Did not raise camp. Gave orders to the people to arrange themselves per twos, and the one half to push on as expeditiously as possible with only the traps & 2 horses each after the Americans, while the other half remained with me as I must delay a few days on this side of the mountain to send to St. Francisco to obtain a supply of ammunition as we have not enough to enable us to hunt during the summer. The people having to get ready for the trip did not start today, this also deterred us from raising camp. The hunters out & killed two bears and some chivereau.

Monday 18 Fine weather. Raised camp and proceeded along the foot of the mountain 16 miles S.S.W. to another small river.[128] The road very soft in many places. The hunters killed some bears and deer. No tracks of elk to be seen. Sent off the party after the Americans, 20 men & 11 Indians with their traps and two horses each. A. Carson[129] is at the head of the party. I wished to send Michel but was obliged to detain him to go to the Mission.

Tuesday 19 Stormy cold weather forepart of the day. Did not raise camp. Sent off Michel & 5 men to St. Francisco to endeavour to obtain a supply of ammunition. I sent a letter with them stating what we are, where from & our object,[130] they are to make all the expedition in their power, and to procure what information they can regarding the road along the coast and any other particulars that may be of use to us. It will take them 4 or 5 days to get back. I must wait here for their return. The hunters out & killed 8 bears, 15 deer and 1 antelope. Some of them set a few traps for beaver. A few Indians were here when we arrived yesterday but went off immediately. Captain one of Michel's Indians got himself much torn by a bear yesterday and is very ill, it is fortunate Michel & two of the young men were with him or he would have been probably killed.

Wednesday 20 Stormy weather the most of the day. The hunters out, 2 beaver were taken, & 1 elk, 27 deer, 4 bears & 1 antelope killed. The people busy drying meat. The most of them has more bears oil than they know what to do with.

Thursday 21 Blew a storm in the night & storming during the day. In the evening Bt. Gadipie & Peevish two of the men who went with Michel returned, they left the Mission this morning. These men came back to inform me that no ammunition could be obtained at the first Mission[131] and that Michel had to go two days journey farther on to the Russian Establishment,[132] where it was expected he would get what is wanted. The Spaniards received the people very civilly, furnished them with their supplies and a nights lodging and gave them some provisions [?] to depart with in the morning, they also furnished Michel with an Indian guide to take them on to the next post. Michel expects to be at least 6 days before he gets back. I regret much being so long delayed but to enable us to hunt during the summer a supply of ammunition is indispensable. Two of the men who crossed the Mountain on the 18th also returned late in the evening they returned from the party at Midday yesterday, they bring no news of any importance, the party were still advancing by quick marching and had reached near where they expected the road crossed the mountain to the W.

Friday 22 Stormy in the morning, fine weather afterwards. The people out hunting, 9 elk, 2 bears & 2 antelopes were killed, & 1 beaver taken. Five Indians visited us & made us understand that they were on their way to the Mission these are more beggarly than any of the Natives we have yet met with in the valley, they speak a little Spanish.

Saturday 23 Fine weather. The hunters out, but killed only 4 elk 2 deer, 2 antelopes and a bear.

Sunday 24 Stormy in the night & morning, fine weather afterwards. The hunters out & killed 16 elk 2 bears & 2 antelopes, the people report that elk are very numerous a little to the Southward.

Monday 25 Fine weather afterpart of the day thick fog in the morning. The hunters were out towards the big river where they heard there was many elk but they found none. Some of the people saw a good deal of signs of beaver.

Tuesday 26 Fine weather. In the forenoon M. Laframboise arrived from the Russian Establishment which he left on Sunday he was only able to obtain 10 lb. [?] powder, 30 lb. of Lead & 10 lb. Tobacco, for the powder & Lead, he was charged 5 beaver & for the tobacco 2, which is very high in other respects he received very polite civil treatment, & was furnished with some provisions for his voyage gratis. This supply is far short of what we required but no more could be obtained for any price. Michel also obtained some information relative to the road along the coast, the Russian gov. had been 30 [38?] leagues along the coast on discovery, he said the road that distance was bad but passable, there were a great number of Indians who were troublesome, & killed some of their horses, they said there was no river of any size during that distance excepting one or two small ones & that there was no signs of beaver, but it may be policy in him to not tell whether there were beaver or not. Late in the evening four English or Americans,[133] a Spaniard and three Indians arrived with a band of horses to sell to our people.[134] From these people we also obtained some information relative to the coast & the mountains.

Wednesday 27 Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order that Michel might get ready to go after the men who started on the 18th Inst. and ascertain where they are and what they are doing, & to point out a rendezvous where the two parties are to meet, he is to make all the haste back he possibly can. In the mean time I will proceed on to the bay & see if there are any beaver to be had along the North side of it which is not known to have been trapped or even visited by any parties of hunters yet. The people who arrived yesterday evening from the Mission sold nearly 30 horses the most of them young ones to the people[135] the most of them can be of little or no service to us, it is true [?] they did not cost dear. One of these men J. Martin[136] had settled himself [on a] farm not far from the Mission & was getting on prosperously till within a few days ago when a party of Indians came from the Mountain and drove off all his cattle upwards [of] 50 head, and as he was afraid they would return for his horses, which they missed the first time, & perhaps his family, he abandoned his farm & took refuge in the Mission, which from all accounts is not too safe itself as there are but few whites about the establishment.

Thursday 28 Stormy with cold weather. As was arranged yesterday, Michell accompanied by three men 2 horses each started to find the people who left on the 18th. The people from the Mission also returned home. Moved camp & proceeded 10 miles S. along the foot of the Mountains & encamped at a small creek among a few oaks a little out in the plain.[137] I afterwards proceeded on to the bay about 15 miles farther, here the bay is destitute of wood, it has the resemblance of a swamp overgrown with bulrushes and intersected in almost every direction with channels of different sizes and except the want of wood apparently very well adapted for beaver, the people say that beaver are to be found among the rushes.

Friday 29 Stormy weather. Did not raise camp in order to send some men to ascertain whether we can approach the big river to the Eastward where we might find some wood to encamp near its discharge into the bay. They report that the ground is sufficiently hard to gain a point of woods. They saw the marks of beaver & set their traps but with little expectation of catching any as the tide was rising rapidly. Some of the people also set their traps more to the Westward. The hunters killed a few elk and cabrie, a dozen of the new traded horses ran off yesterday and five more went off last night & though the people were searching for them the most of the day are not yet found.

Saturday 30 Very stormy cold weather all day. Did not raise camp. The people out in quest of the stray horses, the most of them were found, the men who were in search of the others have not yet returned. Some of the hunters out & killed a few elk & antelopes, deer in the hills here are very numerous.

Sunday 31 Stormy in the morning fine warm weather afterwards. In the evening M. Laframboise returned accompanied by all the men who were sent off on the Americans track on the 18th Inst. he met [them] coming back yesterday. I am much dissatisfied with these men's conduct particularly in turning back before they had come up with the Americans. They did not push on with the expedition they might have done, had they continued on for two or three days longer, even slow as they went they would have been up with the party, whose road still descended a river running to the Southward and which falls into the sea between Mission and Russian settlements.[138] As was expected being on the road of the other party they have got no beaver, and from their observations they suppose the other party did not get many either. They represent the road through which they passed as being passable for our camp but in several places very bad. The men lay the fault of not fulfilling their object on each other, Indeed the old man who was at their head and who appeared the fittest person among them, is too easy, tho' sufficiently experienced for the task and listens too much to the babling among the people.

April 1833, Monday 1 Stormy in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Raised camp and proceeded 15 miles to the Southward and encamped on a small creek where some oak timber stretches down pretty close to the Bay.[139] Some of the people were off examining along the bay but could not approach it to set their traps, indeed nothing can be done hunting in it except with canoes. Two Spaniards arrived from the Mission one of them is stiled corporal and it appears is head man in all military and civil affairs about the establishment.[140] he says he received orders from the General or Governor at Monteray to visit our camp. These men brought two horses & have sold them to the people.

Tuesday 2 Stormy most part of the day. Sent off Michelle accompanied by two men to endeavour to obtain a supply of ammunition at St. Francisco, where the Spaniards inform us a vessel arrived a few days ago.[141] This will occasion us a few days more delay which I much regret but it cant be avoided as a supply of ammunition is indispensable if it can possibly be obtained. Michelle is directed to make all the expedition in his power. The Spaniards went off with him they were well received here and appeared well pleased and said they would return in a short time again. Some of the men were out hunting & killed [a] few deer they are very numerous. Some of the people went to the Mission farm, which is close too & traded some horses from the Indians who are in charge of it.

[At foot of page:] *Continued in another Book*

NOTES

81. "Leaving this spring, 1832, La Framboise attempted to go from McKay's Fort on the Umpqua to the ocean by a southwest direction but finding the country too mountainous he returned to McKay's Fort and then took McLeod's trail of 1828 to the Bay of San Francisco which he reached October 15 visited St. Francisco and missions of St. Joseph, San Francisco Solano and St. Raphael. La Framboise says the Bay of San Francisco abounds in beaver. He made his best hunt in the vicinity of the missions. In the winter Work and party joined him and they worked together until May when they separated near the Russian settlement on Bodega Bay. La Framboise returned along the coast." John McLoughlin to Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver, 1833 (transcript of original MS in Archives of British Columbia, Victoria), B223b9, p. 100.

82. Work now learns the identity of the leader of the band of trappers whose trail he found in the mountains and knows his competition is from Americans.

83. See "The Trapping Party of Michel Laframboise" at end of this installment.

84. Butte Creek.

85. The Cascade Range and the Umpqua Mountains.

86. The upper end of Butte Sink.

87. This reference (and others later in the account) to Walla Walla Indians is interesting, since it indicates the early background for the Walla Walla "invasion" of California nearly fifteen years later. See this *Quarterly*, XXI (March 1942), 1-7.

88. The Butte is now known as the Marysville or Sutter Buttes. Rising from the level floor of the valley between the Sacramento and Feather rivers, the Buttes form an outstanding landmark of the region.

89. Tradition has credited Laframboise with occupying the site of French Camp.

90. Work's casual use of the name Feather River indicates that the Hudson's Bay trappers were familiar with that title, although the Abert map does not show the stream.

91. "Bichi" or "Biche" was a term in common use for "elk"; the "cabrie" or "cabree" undoubtedly was an antelope; but "chivereau" is more difficult to assign definitely.

92. Work probably climbed South Butte by an old trail still in use.

93. Laframboise has spent Christmas Day with Work.

94. This is a spirited account of the Maidu Indian surround hunt for antelope. The principal Indian weapons, bow and arrow and short thrusting spear, were in evidence.

95. The lower Feather River region was a heavily populated area, due in part to its location adjoining the great overflow basins of the Sacramento Valley. In winter, when snow covered the Sierras, most of the Indians moved to the valley bottoms where they

lived on stored seeds, and by fishing and hunting. Work's journal here records the winter concentration of population in the lowlands.

96. The usual traverse was at the site of the present town of Nicolaus.

97. Indian villages along the lower Feather River and in the Sacramento Valley were situated on mounds of earth whose eminence was great enough to escape flood waters. Even to this day farmers often place their homes and barns on Indian mounds.

98. Feather River.

99. "The little Camass river" in this instance is unidentified.

100. This is the foothill Maidu raft. It was not used on the Sacramento River. Alonzo Delano described this type of raft among the Marysville Maidu in his *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings.* (Auburn and Buffalo, 1854), p.293.

101. Near Wheatland.

102. Probably Auburn Ravine.

103. South Fork of the American River. "In May last a gold mine was discovered on the Sacramento River in the Bonaventura Valley, California . . . I know the place well & was encamped therefor some time." John Work to Edward Ermatinger, Ft. Victoria, November 9, 1848 (original letter in Archives of British Columbia, Victoria).

104. Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden entered the San Joaquin Valley from the south in 1830 and trapped northward to the Feather River. See Alice B. Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," this *Quarterly*, XIX (June 1940), 308-16.

105. Auburn Ravine.

106. Near Wheatland again.

107. Bear River tributary to Feather River.

108. John Turner, of the Jedediah Smith party of 1828, remained at the Columbia in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company and accompanied the brigade of 1828-1829 under Alexander Roderick McLeod to California.

109. The crossing was north of what is now the city of Marysville.

110. The present Butte House Road follows the old trail.

111. See "The Trapping Party of Michel Laframboise" at the end of this installment.

112. Running elk down on foot is a familiar Central California Indian hunting method. Relays of runners were used, and when the elk became exhausted he was dispatched with an arrow.

113. This is the first mention in the present account of horse-stealing by the Indians. The horse as a riding and food animal was introduced to the Indians through the Spanish missions. Shortly after 1800, horses were used by the Central California tribes, and by 1833 the horse was an integral part of native culture. For a review of the cultural readjustment in the mission hinterland see Robert F. Heizer, "The Direct Historical Approach in Central California Archaeology," *American Antiquity*, VII (1941), 98-122.

114. They traveled north along the Feather River to near what is now Oroville. Debris from extensive mining operations has made identification of the camp site impossible.

115. Butte Creek.

116. The Indians were probably River Patwin. Their winter provisions would be mainly stored acorns, as Work's journal indicates. Acorns would be supplemented by fishing with hooks or weirs. The account of the Wilkes expedition of 1841 contains a description and illustration of such a fish weir along this part of the Sacramento River. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. . .* (Philadelphia, 1850, V, 188-89. Ducks were netted in the shallow overflow waters along the river. Duck decoys mentioned by Work were described later by John Russell Bartlett in his *Personal Narrative of Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California . . .* (New York, 1854), II, 31.

The feather clothing is described and illustrated in Roland B. Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVII (1904), Part 3.

117. This road can no longer be traced, but it formed the main traveled road on the east side of the Sacramento River Valley for many years after Work's journey. Pierson Barton Reading, "Sacramento River above Sac'to City and Its Tributaries from Actual Observations, 1849" (MS map in California State Library Map Room).

118. A network of watercourses in this region makes identification of this particular creek uncertain.

119. This is a description of the Indian's custom of eating green clover on all fours. Numerous early observers remark upon the singular sight of numbers of Indians cropping the succulent clover like so many beasts of the field.

120. The clover was *Trifolium.* The Indians ate the heads. Mr. Earl Ramey, of Marysville, thinks the parsley-like plant was probably anise which grows abundantly in this locality.

121. Near Jacinto.

122. Willow Creek.

123. In the foothills west of Williams.

124. Cache Creek.

125. The brigade is now following Knight's Landing Ridge along which an old Indian trail approached the Sacramento River.

126. Putah Creek, called Young's River by Duflot de Mofras on his *Carte de la californie*, Paris, 1844.

127. The camp was near Winters, on Putah Creek.

128. The headwaters of Suisun Creek.

129. Alexander Carson crossed the plains with Wilson Price Hunt in 1811 and later became an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. For the story of this man see Alice B. Maloney, "Alexander Carson, Wilhamot Freeman," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (March 1938), pp. 16-21.

130. "1833, March 18th, John Work, officer of the British Hudson's Bay Co. to Gov. Figueroa on a request to obtain supplies." Archives of California, Departmental State Papers (transcripts in Bancroft Library), III (1831-34), 101.

131. San Francisco Solano, at Sonoma.

132. The Russians had two settlements in California in 1833, one at Bodega, the other at Fort Ross. Laframboise' destination was probably Bodega.

133. One of the Americans no doubt was George Yount, who was in this locality at this time; the other may have been Moses Carson. The Englishmen were John Martin and Jerry Jones.

134. See Note 113.

135. One infers that these were mission horses being sold without the knowledge of the authorities—i.e., stolen stock.

136. "My name is John Martin, my age sixty-seven and I reside in Marin County, California.... I have known that place [Rancho Arroyo de San Antonio] from 1830 to the present time. In 1832 I had possession of it. . . I kept my animals on the place. My first Establishment was at the place called Botoque which was on said place. . . . I built a house there in 1832 and lived on it and cultivated the land. . . until 1837. I then . . . asked for a title to the land where I now live called Novato. I got a title to it and then moved my house on to it. . . ." Deposition of John Martin, San Francisco, January 9, 1855, in Case No. 558, Charles White, claimant for "San Antonio" *vs.* the United States, 346 N.D. Botoque was at the spot where San Antonio Creek reaches Petaluma Creek.

137. Near Cordelia.

138. Russian River.

139. The mouth of Suisun Creek.

140. Juan Miranda "was Steward at Sonoma under Father Valentine from 1830 up to 1837." Deposition of John Martin, *op. cit.* The corporal may have been Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo who made a tour of inspection to Bodega and Ross in the spring of 1833. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 254.

141. The *Harriet Blanchard*, at San Francisco, April 1, 1833; a schooner of 62 tons, crew of 10; captain, Levi Young; supercargo, John Ebbets, Jr.; owner, John Coffin Jones, Jr., Honolulu. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), p. 177.

THE TRAPPING PARTY OF MICHEL LAFRAMBOISE

A complete list of the members of this party is not available. All men mentioned by John Work and not included in the list of messes of his own party have been assigned to Laframboise, but the total still lacks a few names of reaching the eighteen men stated by Work to have accompanied Laframboise.

1 *Michel Laframboise* (sometimes without the final "e" and usually with a capital "F") was the most famous French Canadian of the Pacific Slope. Oregon *Index*, p. 381; West, *op. cit.*, No. 990; H.B.C. List, 1823-24. The writer has in preparation an article on the life and exploits of this man. Sources are too numerous to include here. A short biographical sketch appears in Edwin Ernest Rich, R. Barry Fleming, and H. A. Ennis, eds., *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31*, Hudson's Bay Record Society, *Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series* (Toronto and London, 1940), p. 444. Laframboise, successively was an employee of John Jacob Astor, the North West Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. He became an American citizen and acquired a donation land claim on the Willamette River opposite Champoeg. He was the "trouble shooter" for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest and is credited by more than one traveler with having a wife in every Indian tribe with which he came into communication. His success in dealing with the aborigines is sometimes ascribed to this practice. He is mentioned by nearly every traveler who wrote on the region, and his name appears frequently in the official records of the Province of California and in mission records as well. He was the "Captain of the California trail" until 1843 and thereafter visited the region from time to time. His last trip appears to have been in 1849-50. He died at St. Paul on January 28, 1861.

2. *L[ouis] Andre.* Oregon *Index*, p. 16.

3. *J. Boileau*, probably the Boileau who acted as guide for the party of Lieutenant George Foster Emmons, of the United States Exploring Expedition. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, V, 130, 228.

4. *A[lexander] Carson.* Oregon *Index*, p. 104; see also note 129. John Work's journal adds new material to the story of this man.

5. *A. Quesnelle* (or Quesnel) was probably one of the fur-trade family of that name.

6. *Louis, the Iroquois*, or *Louis Shanagorati* (Shangarati, Shanagarotti, or Shangarette). Oregon *Index*, p. 668. "About the 1 of September [1835] Louis Shanagarotti, formerly a trapper in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, burst a blood vessel in his lungs and died almost immediately. He left three orphan children and four or five poor Indian slaves . . . One of the children of the deceased, Louis, died in a short time, victim of disease of a

date earlier than their reception at the Mission." Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon* (New York, 1844), p. 132.

7. *John Turner*, an American. Oregon *Index*, p. 752. One of four men to escape the massacre of the Jedediah Smith party on the Umpqua River, on July 14, 1828. Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 108. He guided the brigade of Alexander Roderick McLeod to California in 1828-29 and acted as guide for Laframboise on the coast trail to the same region. He was a turbulent character, but Work speaks well of him, saying that he paid his debts and turned in his beaver traps before leaving to join the Americans under Ewing Young in January 1833. His name and brief remarks about him appear in many books about the Pacific Northwest and California. He was a member of the second Donner relief party. "Turner died at Thomes ranch on the upper Sacramento in the spring of 1847." *Nevada Weekly Gazette*, June 5, 1869.

8. *P. Bernie* (or Birnie) died on September 28, 1833, in the Umpqua Mountains.

9. *A. Dechamp* (Deschamp, or Duchamp). Oregon *Index*, p. 174.

10. *C. Charpentier* (or Carpenteur).

11. *Jas.* (or *Jos.*) *Carmagan.* This man, however, may be the Cornoyer of Work's party. The name is blotted in the journal and so is not clear..

Windjammer Days in San Diego

By JERRY MACMULLEN

BACK IN the days before Los Angeles harbor was built, the bulk of southern California's sea-borne cargoes came in through San Diego. True enough, San Diego was not a deep-water port in what would be the accepted sense today. The Norwegian ship *Prince Edwards,* arriving off the harbor in the spring of 1888 and drawing a mere twenty-six feet of water, was forced to lie at anchor for three days before the moon advanced sufficiently toward full to produce enough tide to get her in over the bar.[1] But no one minded a three-day delay — in the eighties. On top of that, there was nothing one could do about it, for San Diego was the only natural harbor south of San Francisco.

San Diego was, almost exclusively, a "one-way" port — that is, it served a consuming rather than a producing area, and the ships which arrived with full cargoes went out empty except for enough ballast to give them the required stability. Cobblestones served as some of the ballast; the rest was sand scooped up from the bottom of the bay — which was so clean in those days that you could see the bottom in ten feet of water. The block at present occupied by the Lincoln School, at Twelfth and F Streets, was generally piled high with cobbles, ready to be hauled down to the wharves by wagon. And as in the case of the stones from Ballast Point — used by the ships of Richard Henry Dana's time — many of these cobbles eventually wound up as paving-stones many thousands of miles away. With their ballast aboard, the ships which had started out months before from the Atlantic seaboard, European, or Australian ports would tow out to sea and head for San Francisco or Portland, generally to load grain for the long voyage home.

Cement, steel, coke and a certain amount of coal were the chief inward cargoes from Europe. From the east coast came an assortment of general merchandise, while the ships from Australia were exclusively coal carriers. In those days, the Santa Fe locomotives were coal-burners, and all of their coal for the Pacific Southwest was unloaded at San Diego. The first cargo of coal arrived in the American bark *Columbia,* 599 net tons, on November 13, 1885 — just five days before the first train arrived from Los Angeles.[2] The little *Columbia* was a veteran of the sea-lanes, having been launched in 1846. Her cargo of coal was from Departure Bay, British Columbia, instead of from Australia. From then until the time when fuel oil found general use, coal — both for the railway and for domestic heating — was a leading item in the port's commerce, and by far the greater part of it was carried in windjammers.

Since 1885, 492 different deep-water sailing vessels have called at San Diego – with probably an equal number of coasting schooners, barkentines, brigantines and barks, chiefly in the lumber trade. Of the offshore ships, 234 were British, 154 were American and 27 were German; there were 12 French vessels, 5 Japanese (of which four were school ships carrying no cargo), 2 each of Chilean, Russian and Italian, and 1 each of Mexican and Dutch registry.

Cargo discharge was slow in the days of the windjammers, and it was not uncommon for a ship to remain in port for weeks or even for months; even with six hundred stevedores (a number which had dropped to 165 by the beginning of the present war) it took a lot of time. Lacking cargo booms and fast winches, the square-riggers unloaded by cockbilling their lower yards, bracing them around so that they would serve as booms, and rigging whips from the yard-arms to haul out the cargo; fore-and-afters employed the even cruder method of the swinging cargo-gaff. After the Spreckels Brothers' Commercial Company built the Coal Bunkers wharf, things went faster – at least, as far as the discharge of coal was concerned. At the outer end of this wharf was a swinging gantry, from which coal-skips were lowered into a ship's hold, shovelled full of coal, hauled up and dumped into cable-cars on top of the bunkers. The whole thing was operated by steam.

It was quite a sight to see a square-rigger being maneuvered into position at this wharf for discharge. To give clearance, her lower and tops'l yards were cockbilled away from the wharf; brace-pennants were unshackled and stowed out of the way, and they were all ready. As the tug moved her in toward her berth, the swinging framework would move out from far overhead, its motion being timed to coincide with the headway of the ship. Thus the gantry moved in among the mass of spars and rigging, to be secured in its outboard position as the ship made fast. Along about 1900 and for a few years thereafter, this system provided excellent entertainment – for it was at that time that foreign shipmasters seemed to predominate in the coal trade to San Diego. The spectacle of an excitable captain who had exhausted his scant supply of English, and who, certain that his ship was about to be dismasted, was dancing up and down on the poop, was one to be remembered. At such times, it was just as well to keep the women and children away, for the captain's imprecations, screamed in his native tongue, were certain to be answered by the tug skipper in the blistering argot of the West Coast docks.

At the inshore end of Spreckels' wharf stood that famous landmark of nostalgic memory, the Snug Harbor Saloon. It was a place of robust maritime relaxation, featuring in its free-lunch set-up sandwiches of crisp barracuda, fresh from the fire, encased in French bread. One of these, and a schooner of beer – ah, happy days!

But there were other places where the going was not so smooth as at the

Snug Harbor – O'Brien's, for instance, and Dottridges. Both flourished in the eighties, and were the only places in San Diego where the fine old art of shanghaing was practiced with its full panoply of artistic touches. Both were located in Lower Second street, and both have long since disappeared. Generally speaking, however, it was not necessary to shanghai sailors in San Diego. Men would desert at the end of a long voyage, try their hand at working on the dams then being built by the old Southern California Mountain Water Company, and drift back to town – where they promptly went broke. Then they were more than ready to ship out again. The supply of men frequently exceeded the demand, and strong-arm methods were not needed.

It must not be assumed, however, that all was sweetness and brotherly love along the San Diego waterfront. There were frequent labor troubles to keep things from becoming dull, and after dark both the waterfront and Sailor Town, which lay generally to the west of Fifth and south of H Streets saw more than their share of roughhouse. There was, for instance the case of the *Darra.*

On the night of November 26, 1887, the *Darra,* a British bark of 999 net tons, lay at anchor in the stream; her crew was aboard, she was ballasted for the outward voyage, and all that remained was for the tug to pick her up in the morning. Along toward midnight, Captain Robert Story heard a noise on deck, and went up to investigate. Forthwith, he found himself surrounded by some forty men, who had come off from the shore in Whitehall boats, swarmed up the *Darra's* head-rigging and over the stern, and literally taken charge. They demanded that he turn over to them three members of the crew, who, they alleged, were not members in good standing of the particular union which they represented.

"I presented my pistol," Captain Story told a newspaper reporter the next day.[3] But the presentation ceremony seems to have gone sadly amiss. Just at that time another forty or so clambered over the side, removed the master's pistol without any formalities, and seized the three men, whom they found in the foc'sl. Here, indeed, was a sightly kettle of fish – for the three men who had been kidnaped were British subjects – and forthwith there were rumbles of the possible sending to San Diego of a British man-o-war, to protect the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects.[4] There was rather general indignation, and other ships in port took defensive measures of one kind or another. The master of the German ship *Salisbury*, for instance, rousted up an old brass muzzle-loader from somewhere down below, mounted it so that it commanded the deck from the break of the poop, and loaded it with scrap-iron and nails. Then he balanced heavy pieces of rock-ballast along the rails, where they would be pushed overboard – and into any boats trying to come alongside – with ease. Despite the fact that he had a non-union crew, he was left severely alone. The

British warship never arrived, and probably was, in fact, wholly fictional; its mere mention, however, had produced a good effect, and things calmed down noticeably — at least, for a few weeks.

The British iron clipper *Miltiades* — then dropped in the Blue Book of the sea from the wool trade to hauling steel and coke — was in port from Antwerp, at the same time as the *Darra* incident, and like the *Darra*, she had some crew trouble. One night her steward was walking along the waterfront, when suddenly he was fired on from behind a shed, the bullet going through his leg. His assailants leapt out, had a look at him — and then tenderly picked him up and carried him to the nearest saloon. Some time later, crudely bandaged and smelling strongly of hard liquor, he was delivered aboard his ship with the mumbled apology of "We thought he was somebody else." There is no record of any police action in the case — or, for that matter, in the case of the *Darra* affair.

Different, from the standpoint of legal formalities, was the case of the blowing up of the American bark *Otago*, which occurred on the night of November 28, 1887 — just two days after the "*Darra* outrage," as the local press termed it. The *Otago* had a full union crew, so there was no labor angle involved — it was purely a waterfront "beef" over mooring-lines, if one is to believe the newspaper accounts. It seems that both the *Otago* and the Mexican steamer *Carlos Pacheco* had their lines over the same bollard — a fact which had caused some unpleasantness between the two captains. In fact, after the bark's line had been cut three times, her master offered to shoot the steamer's master if it happened again. About an hour and a half after sunset, the *Carlos Pacheco* let go her lines and backed down, into the stream. As she did so, there was a deafening explosion, and a hole big enough to crawl through was blown into the *Otago's* side. No one aboard the bark, however, was hurt; the only victim was one Charles Smith, second mate of the nearby schooner *Peerless*, who got "a numbed finger and a hole burned in his pants" out of the affair.[5] The town trustees posted a $500 reward for the persons responsible for the explosion. Someone claimed to have seen something thrown from the *Carlos Pacheco* toward the *Otago* — and so, when the steamer returned to port from Ensenada, her master, Captain Nelson, was arrested. The ensuing trial before Squire Monroe on December 28, 1887, produced one of San Diego's more delightful bits of legal hocus-pocus. One of the chief points in the defense was the argument that the prosecution had failed to show the ownership of the *Otago*, and that the court had, therefore, no right to assume that the defendant did not own her himself. This much being so — well, didn't he have a right to blow up his own ship if he wanted to? And Captain Nelson walked from court a free man.[6]

Naturally, it took longer for cargoes to reach port in those days than it did when steam — and the Panama Canal — became factors in ocean-going commerce. The average time from Baltimore to San Diego was 163 days, the best recorded passage being that of the American ship *William H. Starbuck,* which made it in 151 days, in 1891.[7] A glance at other records, and average times, reveals the following data: Swansea to San Diego, average time 136 days, best time 116 days by the British ship *Star of Italy* – later well known in San Francisco as one of the Alaska Packers' fleet – in 1892; New York to San Diego, average time 199 days, best time 139 days by the American ship *William G. Davis* in 1893; Newcastle, N.S.W., to San Diego, average time 80 days, best time 48 days by the French bark *Buenos Aires* in 1888; Puget Sound to San Diego, average time 16 days, best time 10 days 12 hours by the American bark *Big Bonanza* in 1897.[8] The discrepancy between these figures and the 89-day record from New York to San Francisco during the Gold Rush is easily explained; ships of the fifties were extreme clippers, with carrying capacity sacrificed in the interests of speed, while the sailing vessels which called at San Diego thirty years later – the heyday for sail at that port – were of the medium clipper type, in which greater cargo capacity brought less shapely hulls, and hence far less speed.

A glance through the list of ships which played their part in the sail-borne commerce of San Diego reveals names which have lived in maritime literature and history. John Masefield's mention of the *Glaucus* recalls that graceful, port-painted British four-masted bark which visited San Diego in 1904; he writes also of the beautiful, white *Sierras – Sierra Estrella, Sierra Blanca, Sierra Ventana* – which called there some forty years ago, of "... *California,* slow as time" and of the famous carriers of the Fernie fleet.[9] Old and worn, the little tea-clipper *Belted Will,* ending her days in the coal trade, called at the port in 1889. Tall, stately *Pass of Melfort,* lost on Vancouver Island during a gale on Christmas night of 1905,[10] was a favorite of the San Diego waterfront around the turn of the century. And there was the British ship *Dalgonar* of 2,565 tons, reputed to be the largest steel three-masted sailing vessel ever built, from whose derelict hulk relics later found their way to the DeYoung Museum in San Francisco. Gray-hulled *Daniel,* a trim Frenchman, discharged her cargo in San Diego in 1902, sailed on and vanished somewhere in the gray wastes off Cape Horn. The American ships *Hecla* and *Gatherer,* of sinister memory,[11] played their part in the harbor's history. The *Dudhope,* a jubilee-rigged British three-master, called at the end of 1914, had a mutiny while in port and sailed–to become the victim of a German submarine when only a scant two hundred miles from Queenstown.

They're all gone, now. Trim *Olivebank,* second only to *Buenos Aires* by virtue of her 54-day run from Newcastle in 1893, later passed from British to Finnish registry; she gave a good account of herself in the annual grain races until 1940, when she was sunk by a German mine. Lovely little *Galilee,* one of Matthew Turner's fast brigantines, lies at Sausalito, the tide rising and falling in her hull. San Diego's sailor town is gone. A stubby pier marks the site of West Santa Fe wharf — where the *Otago* was dynamited — and accommodates a fireboat and various Coast Guard craft. Warehouses and a broad concrete highway hide the locale of the Snug Harbor Saloon — and it would take an expert to recognize in Fishermen's Wharf the vestigial remnant of the old Coal Bunkers.

NOTES

1. San Diego *Union,* March 5, 1888.

2. "Sailing Vessels in the San Diego Trade," Maritime Research Society of San Diego, *Bulletin* No. 1 (May 1940).

3. San Diego *Union,* November 28, 1887.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1887.

6. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1887.

7. "Sailing Vessels in the San Diego Trade," Maritime Research Society of San Diego, *Bulletin* No. 1 (May 1940).

8. *Ibid.*

9. John Masefield, *Salt Water Poems and Ballads* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914).

10. Associated Press dispatches.

11. In *Vignettes of the Sea* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1926) the late Felix Riesenberg describes in some detail the goings-on aboard these ships which resulted in charges of extreme cruelty being filed by the *Hecla's* crew at Tacoma in 1888, and of brutality aboard the *Gatherer* which landed her first mate in Folsom at a date not given. The *Hecla* affair was featured by securing her crew (except two men needed at the wheel) to the 'tween-decks stanchions in such manner that they ". . . could not stand erect, sit or lie down." Until a few years ago there still were old-timers around the San Diego waterfront who would solemnly wag their heads when the name of the *Gatherer* was mentioned.

THE AUTHOR

G. F. (Jerry) MacMullen was born in San Francisco in 1897 but was brought up in San Diego. He served briefly in World War I, graduated from the University of California in 1921, and thereafter spent about twenty years in newspaper work in San Diego, largely in handling shipping news. He is secretary of the Maritime Research Society of San Diego, his special hobby being the pursuit of information about old sailing vessels and river steamers. He is now serving in the armed forces.

The San Jose *Mercury* and the Civil War

By Benjamin Bronston Beales

(Concluded)

IV. THE *MERCURY* AND MILITARY EVENTS OF THE WAR

THE news concerning the fall of Fort Sumter on April 14, 1861, was not printed in the *Mercury* until May 2. This delay was caused by the long period of time which it took for the news of events transpiring in the East to reach the Pacific Coast. At that time the overland telegraph reached only to Fort Kearny, in Nebraska. From this point the pony express carried the tiding of war to Sacramento, and from Sacramento the news was telegraphed to San Jose by way of San Francisco.

When knowledge of the fall of the fort finally arrived in San Jose, O. Owen,[1] brother of the editor of the *Mercury*, expressed the opinion that the surrender was "humiliating" and suggested that such property as had been captured by the secessionist force should immediately be recaptured, after which terms of peace could be dictated by the Federal Government. O. Owen failed to see the significance of the Confederate move. He was opposed to permitting the seceding states to return immediately to the Union and suggested that they remain independent for a while in order that they might be in a position to "realize to the fullest extent the beauty and durability of a government founded on human slavery alone."[2] The views of O. Owen are strikingly similar to those of Henry Ward Beecher and Horace Greeley, both well known abolitionists.

By May 23, 1861, the *Mercury* was able to announce that joint resolutions had been passed by both houses of the California legislature pledging the state to respond to any call from the President for putting down the rebellion.[3] In contrast to the collective opinion of the legislature, Governor John Downey was positive that the Union could be preserved only by compromise.[4] Downey by his statement placed himself squarely in the camp of the Crittenden Compromise Group, who, as the war progressed, became more and more unpopular in California. One orator, speaking in San Jose about three months after hosilities had commenced, warned his listeners that, among her other duties, California was bound to prevent treason "from raising its accursed head on her own soil."[5]

John C. Frémont, in the early days of the war, was in command of the Union forces in Missouri. His exploits in California and his service as an original senator from this state caused him to be well known locally. Dissatisfaction with his conduct of the war in Missouri prompted the editor of the *Mercury* to accuse him of "neglecting many things he ought to have done" and inaugurating a "system of martial pomp inconsistent with our republican notions."[6]

Union defeats at the first Battle of Bull Run and in lesser engagements during the early fighting in the East created alarm in San Jose, as it did in most parts of the nation outside the Confederacy. In November, the editor found himself concerned with the future possibility of a victorious Confederacy united in alliance "with foreign powers."[7]

Early in 1862, Owen conceded the possibilities of a long war. He blamed the poor showing of the North, in part at least, to a lack of interest and a consequent lack of effort on the parts of both soldiers and citizens, but did not question that final victory would be with the Union after a "year or two of ineffectual [war]."[8] Only a week later, however, he wrote that it was the "imperative duty of the Federal Government now to bring the war to a speedy termination if it is within the bounds of possibility."[9]

Early in 1862 Grant advanced along the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers and won signal victories at Forts Henry and Donelson in January and February 1862, respectively. Roanoke Island, in Pimlico Sound, was captured by General Ambrose Burnside's forces also in January. Consequently the cause of the South appeared somewhat worse and that of the North correspondingly better than it had a month before. Owen was jubilant. Forgetting his pessimistic prophecy of only a month before, he now wrote that the armies of the North would soon be in possession of every important point within the Confederacy. Further he predicted that the rebellion would be culminated in June 1862. O'Daugherty, editor of the *Tribune* and a Confederate sympathizer, as has been pointed out, looked upon these reports of Union successes as specially concocted by the Government in order to hide the true state of affairs in the East.[10]

General George B. McClellan's ill-fated Peninsula campaign began in the spring of 1862. After a series of brilliant manoeuvers, he approached to within eight miles of Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital. A rumor, circulating as far west as San Jose, hinted that Richmond had fallen. Owen cautioned that this could not be verified because the overland telegraph, which had been completed by this time, had not been in service for many days.

McClellan defeated the Confederates at the Battle of Malvern Hill, a last approach to Richmond, and then for some unaccountable reason abandoned the campaign. He was promptly replaced by General John Pope, who shortly after was defeated by the Confederates at the Second Battle of Bull Run, in August 1862. Pope was relieved of his command, and McClellan was recalled to replace him. Owen perceived all this as a sign of weakness in Lincoln, which he attributed to the fact that the President was surrounded by too many politicians. He recommended that the President should personally take command of the Federal armies, and that "every slave on American soil should be emancipated through Presidential proclamation."[11]

McClellan defeated the Confederates at Antietam, Maryland, in September 1862, but again failed to follow up his advantage and was replaced by General Burnside. Owen roundly berated every aspect of McClellan's military ability and even questioned his loyalty to the Union. Two editorials appeared on the subject in the *Mercury*, on September 18 and November 8, 1862. Also in December, Owen admitted the great military skill of both Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. Jackson. The defeat of Burnside at Fredericksburg and his subsequent resignation wrote a dreary finis to what had seemed destined to be an auspicious year for the North.

Many interesting but unfounded rumors were circulated in San Jose during the years of the war. One of these, was that Secretary of State William Henry Seward, Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, and Attorney-General Edward Bates were about to resign. Owen hoped that they would do so, as he viewed all three as "vague theorizing counselors."[12] Bates and Blair retained their posts until 1864. Seward was Secretary of State until 1869.

As Lincoln had promised in his preliminary proclamation of September 1862, the Emancipation Proclamation was declared in effect on January 1, 1863. In this connection, Owen bespoke the need for a "victorious engagement in Virginia" to give force to the edict.[13] One week later the *Mercury* carried an editorial which complained at length against the defensive nature of the war as fought by the Union forces up to that time. Of so little value did the editor view this type of warfare that he advocated a total cessation of hostilities in preference to it.[14] As the month of January drew to a close he demanded that the Union armies of the East "organize an expedition at once" and "capture Charleston."[15]

Victories of the Union forces at the decisive battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, in July 1863, induced Owen to turn an editorial about face and once more prematurely predict the early defeat of the Confederates.[16] Final submission, however, he believed, would be realized only after every rebel had either surrendered or died. He anticipated the capture of Richmond and Charleston before the coming of the winter of 1863.[17] In the absence of further Union victories in 1863, Owen, in January 1864, altered his previous opinion by writing that: "Another summer will finish the work of . . . putting down the rebellion."[18]

Ulysses Simpson Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of the Union Armies in March 1864. Owen accurately predicted that Richmond was to be Grant's goal. All was optimism in the *Mercury*. The end of the Confederacy and slavery was freely anticipated. Praise and recognition were given the exploits of David Farragut and William Tecumseh Sherman. In December Owen wrote that the "rebellion is in its death struggle."[19] The following April proved the truth of Owen's assertion. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomatox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, 1865. On April 13, Owen reported the incident in a brief item, referring to Lee as the "illustrious chief" of the Confederacy.[20]

V. UNION AND SECESSIONIST ORGANIZATIONS

As early as March 1861, about a month before the outbreak of the war, Union organizations sprang up in San Francisco as a result of the merging of the Constitutional Union party with the Republicans of the state. At first they were vote getting agencies for the Republican and later for the Union party candidates. Owen stated that these groups were formed "so that persons favoring the Administration and the Union might take their stands."[1] After the war had commenced, these organizations became militantly anti-secessionist. A Union club was founded in the town of Santa Clara on May 5, 1861. Four days later over a thousand persons indicated their desire to establish a similar club in San Jose, according to the *Mercury*.[2] The principal function of these organizations during the first two years of the war appears to have been the registering of volunteers for service in the East.

Interest in the groups seems to have waned somewhat in 1862, when Owen sought to sponsor greater activity of the clubs by calling attention to the "disloyal, treasonable element that prevails to such an alarming extent in this State."[3]

The people in California in 1863 were faced by a secessionist plot which threatened the security of the entire state. Immediate counteraction was taken by loyal Union men. One phase of this action was the formation of Union Leagues at the end of June "to baffle the secret machinations of the secessionists."[4] This will be discussed in more detail later.

As both segments of the Democratic party and the Republicans were preparing for the Presidential elections of 1864, new clubs were formed and older ones added to their other functions those of campaign organizations.

Secessionist activities in San Jose became apparent after hosilities had commenced. In the middle of May 1861, a Confederate sponsored "Union meeting . . . of the Democracy was held at the City Hall."[5] An attempt was made late in July to form a club of those who supported the Crittenden Compromise. Except for these two efforts, there appears to have been no attempt to organize Copperhead or secessionist sympathizers in San Jose during the early years of the war.

The Presidential election of 1864 brought about the formation of McClellan clubs, which lasted but a short time. These were merely vote getting agencies for what was left of the Democratic party. In Owen's words, their membership was composed of "twenty thousand native sons of rebellious States" who resided in California.[6]

Before the Civil War had actually begun, there were organizations in California sympathetic toward the South. One of these was the notorious Knights of the Golden Circle. During the state gubernatorial campaign of 1861 it became very active, so active in fact that Owen felt obliged to warn his readers that if the Democrats were successful in the election, California would be involved in a "civil war like that . . . raging in Missouri" and referred to many of the Democratic candidates as "members of that traitorous League known as Knights of the Golden Circle."[7] Elijah Kennedy later reported that there were about 160,000 members in the organization in California in 1861.[8]

There can be little doubt that secessionist groups were active in San Jose as well as in the state at large during the first two years of war. Very little appeared in the *Mercury* concerning their activities, however, since little was positively known about what they were doing or what they intended to do. In April 1863, Owen stated positively in his paper that there was "a secret organization in this State"[9] whose activities centered in Napa County. Their purpose, according to Owen, was "to undermine the peace of our people, and entail upon our fair State all the horrors of war." He asserted further that they were engaging in an organized manner to lay plans to "capture our forts, arsenals, and vessels of war [and] to shell our cities."[10] The plot was forestalled by the "timely seizure of their advance delegations" near Napa. After this danger had passed, Owen warned that their next move would be to place the "State Government in the hands of their friends" at the fall elections for governor."[11]

The effects of another secessionist plot was brought directly to San Jose in 1864. Winfield Davis states that the first indications of this plot occurred on June 30, 1864, when the Virginia City stage carrying a shipment of gold was attacked and robbed near Auburn. A man wearing the uniform of a Confederate officer allegedly led the robbers. An agent of the group, Thomas B. Poole, was arrested in Placerville about two months later. A letter in his possession indicated that the stage holdup "was but the ramification of a scheme . . . in Santa Clara County to recruit and equip soldiers in this state for the confederate army."[12] The *Mercury* asserted that this same group was striving to interfere with the organization of a cavalry regiment near Almaden. Owen attributed the whole plot to the workings of the Knights of the Golden Circle. He said many of the leading secessionists of San Jose were members of the group which locally numbered two hundred. Their headquarters were thought to be somewhere in the Mount Hamilton Range. Citizens of San Jose were warned to sleep "with reliable weapons in . . . reach."[13] Poole was hanged in Placerville in September 1865, after the California Supreme Court upheld the original judgment against him.

The weekly newspaper, the San Jose *Tribune*, appears to have been the most conspicuous and persistent of the several secessionist agencies which operated in and about San Jose. George O'Daugherty, the editor, early indicated the direction of his sympathies when in July 1861, he wrote that the Federal Government had no right to coerce the South.[14] Owen openly accused O'Daugherty of accepting bribes to uphold the cause of the Confederacy.[15]

The *Tribune* supported the side of the British after the Mason-Slidell incident. Throughout the first nine months of the year 1862, O'Daugherty continued to vilify the cause of the Union. This proved more than staunch Union men were willing to tolerate. The *Tribune* was ordered to cease publication in October, by order of General George Wright, the commandant of the fortress on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. It did so for about eight months, and though publication was briefly resumed in May 1863, the paper shortly afterwards was sold to Republican interests. Thus was removed a potent local source for the dissemination of secessionist ideas and opinions.

There were in San Jose during the war years several Union military organizations. These seem to have been more or less affiliated with the Republican party. Owen himself expressed the view that the earlier Union clubs would be the nuclei for later military groups.[16]

The first of these in point of time was the San Jose Volunteers, a group already partially organized by the middle of June 1861.[17] The editor of the *Tribune* did not look with favor upon the formation of the unit and apparently indulged in some caustic ridicule in the columns of his paper, judging from the reaction of Owen, who accused him of "speaking lightly of our volunteers as tho' [he] had but little confidence in their patriotism or in their ability to perform."[18] Notices of drills were announced in the *Mercury* and were held in the City Hall.[19] By early November, attempts were made to induce men to join the Volunteers for service in the East.[20] In all probability the members of this first among the local military organizations were incorporated into other units for service both in California and in the East.

Another important military group, the Union Guards, was formed in San Jose in May 1863.[21]. In June the *Mercury* commended the fine military spirit of the citizens of San Jose and Santa Clara County, at the same time announcing that in the few months previous two companies of infantry and one of cavalry had been formed, and in addition, two others, one of infantry and two of cavalry, were in the process of formation.[22] The false rumor which appeared more than a year later, that an order would be issued by the Federal Government calling for the formation of ten regiments of troops in California, no doubt stimulated the organization of yet other military units in and near San Jose.

In addition to the several instances of organized secessionist activity already mentioned, there were some isolated cases of individuals whose actions indicated unmistakably their affiliation with and their sympathy for the Southern cause.

During the first months of the war, a group of Confederate sympathizers threatened to boycott several local merchants because the latter had furnished materials for an American flag which, upon completion, was to be presented to the Union club of San Jose.[23] At about the same time "a certain city official" was accused by Owen of stating that he was "for Jeff Davis — that if he could sell his property he would go to him."[24] A candidate for public office, according to a correspondent of the *Mercury*, stated in public that the calling out of the troops by the Federal Government in 1861 was unconstitutional and that he would rather fight than submit to such a call.[25]

That women, too, were expressive as to the direction of their allegiance is indicated by a report in the *Mercury* that early in 1861, after news of a Union victory had reached San Jose, the wife of a prominent local secessionist was seen to hoist a black flag atop her house as a symbol of her disappointment.[26]

VI. THE PACIFIC REPUBLIC

There had been in California and other parts of the West some agitation for a Pacific Republic. Most of the action for such a republic was confined to the decade 1850 to 1860, but had not entirely died by 1861-1863. Southern politicians and others saw in this movement an opportunity for adding California to the Confederacy after its initial inception. The whole scheme was thought to be of Southern inspiration. Some who thought out and out union impossible, nevertheless envisaged an independent state entirely sympathetic toward the Confederacy. The scheme received new impetus when war seemed imminent. It has been stated that the sponsors were few in number and all members of the Breckinridge clique.[1] Though few they were apparently well organized. Both California senators, William M. Gwin and Milton S. Latham, had on various occasions come out openly in favor of an independent California. Newspapers such as the San Francisco *Herald* and the Sonoma *Democrat* strongly supported the movement in the northern part of the state. The Los Angeles *Star* was the principal newspaper sponsoring the idea in the south.[2] Other newspapers, among them the *Mercury*, were as vehemently opposed to it. Shortly after actual fighting had commenced, those favoring the move began active organization for its realization. One of the centers of this activity appears to have been San Jose.

Not far from San Jose a considerable number of squatters had settled upon certain old Spanish grants. These holdings were then in the process of litigation between squatters and the Federal Government. Since the settlers were without deeds to their lands, they were not in an advantageous position to retain their properties. Some persons actively sought adherents among the settlers.[3] The question was settled in the last week of April 1861, when the settlers themselves definitely declared their allegiance to the Federal cause in a meeting held in an oak grove[4] on the outskirts of San Jose. The relation between the Knights of the Golden Circle and the sponsors of the Pacific Republic was probably very close.

Throughout the struggle between the North and the South, the *Mercury*, mainly through the editorials of Owen, strongly supported the policies of President Lincoln. The shock caused by the death of the President is apparent in the reaction of the editor.

Background was furnished by the newspaper, as it reported "groups of citizens gathered in the streets" and "a great crowd [was] gathered around the telegraph office watching for further particulars of the terrible tragedy." Information concerning the assassination was received on Saturday, April 15, the day of Lincoln's death. The news spread rapidly, and later the same morning, we are informed, "hundreds of people assembled from all parts of the county to learn the sad particulars." By and large, the secessionists of San Jose "felt to deplore the murderous act." Some violence, however, was attempted when a Methodist church in Berryessa, near San Jose, was set afire on Sunday, April 16. Wiser counsel prevented retaliatory action on a Southern church in San Jose. Some gratification for the murder of the President was alleged to have been expressed privately by a few secessionists. Owen asserted that the assassination was the culmination of the spirit "which characterized almost the entire Southern people" and that John Wilkes Booth was merely representative of the group.[5]

A public meeting was held at the City Hall on April 17 to pay tribute to the memory of the President. As the day approached for the funeral "almost the entire community was engaged in draping their places of business and private residences in symbols of mourning." On April 19, the day of the funeral, all stores were closed and business suspended for the day.[6]

While it was true that the death of Lincoln both angered and saddened the loyal editor of the *Mercury*, nevertheless, he saw that the future of the nation depended upon the amicable understanding and close co-operation between the lately antagonistic sections. Consequently by October, six months after the assassination of Lincoln, Owen was able to write: "A community of interests will unite the North and the South into one vast brotherhood [and] the . . . pure springs of peace and union shall mingle their waters forever."[7]

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. This may have been the Owen Owens listed in the first *Great Register of Voters of Santa Clara County* (1867), although the name is spelled differently. Owens was a native of New York, a resident of Redwood township, Santa Clara County, and a carriage maker, 56 years of age in 1867, according to the *Register*.

2. San Jose *Mercury*, May 2, 1861.
3. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1861.
4. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1861.
5. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1861.
6. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1861.
7. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1861.
8. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1862.
9. *Ibid.*,
10. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1862.
11. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1862.
12. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1862.
13. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1863.
14. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1863.
15. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1863.
16. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1863.
17. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1863.
18. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1864.
19. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1865.
20. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1865.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1. San Jose *Mercury*, May 1, 1861.
2. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1861.
3. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1862.
4. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1863.
5. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1861.
6. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1864.
7. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1861.
8. Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861* (Boston, 1916), p. 212.
9. San Jose *Mercury*, April 2, 1863.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1863.
12. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 204.
13. San Jose *Mercury*, July 21, 1864.
14. Quoted in *ibid.*, July 4, 1861.
15. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1861.
16. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1861.
17. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1861.
18. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.
19. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1861.

20. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1861.
21. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1863.
22. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1863.
23. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1861.
24. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1861.
25. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1861.
26. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1862.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

1. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
2. San Jose *Mercury*, May 30, 1861.
3. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1861.
4. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1861.
5. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1865.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1865.

A Chronology of the Life of Pierson Barton Reading

Compiled by GERTRUDE A. STEGER

THE FORTNIGHT from October 19 to November 2 marked the one hundredth anniversary of Pierson B. Reading's journey through Shasta County. As a tribute to this outstanding pioneer, who was so intensely interested in the growth and development of our state and who accomplished so much in the twenty-five years he spent in Shasta County, the following brief outline of his life was prepared by the Shasta Historical Society and distributed to the schools of the county, a series of articles was published in the Redding *Record-Searchlight*, a "Reading display" was arranged in the window of the J. C. Penney store, in Redding, and on October 19, the United States Board on Geographical Names officially renamed White Mountain, two miles southeast of Lassen Peak, Reading Peak, in honor of P. B. Reading. The telegram announcing the renaming formally opened the centennial anniversary observances.

* * * *

1816-1830 – Pierson Barton Reading (pronounced *red-ing*) was born in New Jersey, on November 26, 1816. He was the son of Pierson and Charity (Guild) Reading and a descendant of the Reading pioneer family of New Jersey (1684). His grandfather was Joseph Reading, a judge of Hunterdon County and a captain in the American Revolution, and his great-grandfather was John Reading, governor of New Jersey and one of the first trustees of Princeton University.

P. B. Reading spent his boyhood in New Jersey. There he attended a Presbyterian Sunday school. A copybook in which he wrote at the age of ten (now at Sutter's Fort Historical Museum, Sacramento), is an example of the neatness and accuracy which characterized Reading's whole life.

1830-1843 – Desiring to become self-supporting, Reading went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1830 at the age of fourteen, and there become a cotton broker. After the panic of 1837, in which he was a heavy loser, he moved to the larger cotton market of New Orleans, Louisiana. All went well until his partner absconded with the firm's strong box, leaving $60,000 worth of debts and forcing the young broker into bankruptcy again.

1843 – After his failure and the death of his young wife, Reading started west. In May he joined a large party of emigrants on their way to Oregon and California, of whom Peter H. Burnett (later the first American governor of California) was commander-in-chief. At Fort Hall, the Oregon party moved on. Those going to California organized the Chiles-Walker party, with John Gantt as guide. Walker was placed in charge of the wagons, which were loaded with machinery and furniture. He took a southern route through Walker's Pass into California, reaching Sutter's Fort in December. The Joseph B. Chiles' party, consisting of thirteen men and twenty-six horses and mules, left Fort Hall on September 16, 1843, blazing from Fort Boise, Idaho, a new emigrant route to California. This route from Fall River Mills to Idaho City, a distance of 350 miles, was developed in 1864 by the Idaho, Oregon and California Wagon Road Company, of which P. B. Reading was a member, and designated as the "Reading Route." Today this road is a part of the Yellowstone Cut-Off. Leaving the Pit River, the Chiles party soon struck the old Hudson's Bay trappers' trail of 1832 again and passed through Shasta County, reaching Sutter's Fort on November 10, 1843. A letter from Reading to his brother tells the story of the hardships and trials encountered on this trip through the unknown wilderness and of days of fatigue and suffering in which starvation was avoided by eating the flesh of their horses and mules. (See *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, VII, September 1930, p. 143.)

Reading and Samuel J. Hensley were employed by Captain John A. Sutter, Hensley to raft logs down the Sacramento River and Reading as clerk and chief trapper.

1844 — In February 1844, P. B. Reading, with John Bidwell, visited the land on the Sacramento River which had been selected for him by Samuel J. Hensley. Other members of the Bidwell party were Job Francis Dye, William George Chard, Robert Hasty Thomes, and Albert G. Toomes, who, with Peter Lassen and William C. Moon, were the first settlers of the upper Sacramento Valley. In May, Indians were hired to make adobe bricks for Reading. In December the Buena Ventura Rancho, of over 26,000 acres, was granted to him by Governor Micheltorena. This, the most northerly grant in California, extended along the west bank of the Sacramento River from the mouth of Cottonwood Creek to Salt Creek.

1845-1846 — Accompanied by 30 men and 100 horses, in May 1845, Reading left Sutter's Fort on his last recorded trapping expedition on the Sacramento River. Leaving the Sacramento in the vicinity of Kennet, he crossed into Trinity County and discovered and named the Trinity River. After a few weeks he returned to the Sacramento, striking the Oregon-California Hudson's Bay Company trail about ten miles below Soda Springs. He continued northward to the Klamath and Shasta rivers. (See Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County*, Eugene, Oregon: Printed for Harold C. Holmes by John Henry Nash, 1940, p. 2.) On his return trip in August he visited his rancho, located building sites, etc. He left Julian, a French Canadian, in charge and reached Sutter's Fort in October. In 1846 the first dwelling was burned by hostile Indians, the caretaker was killed, and the stock was driven off.

1846-1847 – In June 1846, P. B. Reading participated in the Bear Flag Revolt at Sonoma. On June 25, he, Hensley, and others joined John C. Frémont at Sonoma. In July Reading enlisted in Frémont's battalion, serving first as lieutenant of artillery, but was soon appointed paymaster for the United States troops with the rank of major. Reading was a member of the peace commission that signed the articles of capitulation at Cahuenga, on January 13, 1847. He was discharged from Frémont's battalion on May 31, 1847, with high honors, and in June he resumed possession of his rancho, built the historical adobe, restocked his farm, and in due season planted cotton, grapes, olives, pears, grain, vegetables and shade trees.

1848-1849 – The story of the beginning of Shasta County and the extension of the Gold Rush into the rich diggings of northwestern California centers around the story of P. B. Reading. After the discovery of gold at Coloma, he was among the first to visit the scene with Sutter. He returned home and in March 1848 discovered gold at Reading's Bar on Clear Creek. This bar was originally three hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, but has been entirely washed away. In July 1848, he discovered gold at Reading's Bar, Trinity County. (See Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 2.) In August, returning to Trinity River with a force of sixty-five men, he is credited with having taken out $80,000 worth of gold within six weeks.

Dr. John Edmonston Stockton states that Reading prospected for gold in "the Sierra foothills [Cascades] without success . . . but brought trout in buckets of water from Lost or Hat creeks and stocked one of the Manzanita Lakes with the fierce-eyed, silver-sided trout." (B. F. Frank and H. W. Chappell, comps., *The History and Business Directory of Shasta County*, Redding, 1881, pp. 140-42.) "In the fall of 1849, Maj. Reading fitted out an expedition to discover the bay into which he supposed the Trinity and Klamath rivers must empty. The bark 'Josephine,' in which the party sailed, was driven by a storm far out of her course to the northwest of Vancouver's Island and had to return. Others subsequently acting on the idea, discovered and called the bay Humboldt, by which name it is now known." (Obituary prepared by members of the Society of California Pioneers, Shasta *Courier*, July 25, 1868.) The news of the discovery of gold at Reading's Springs in the fall of 1849 marks the beginning of the rapid growth of Shasta City. (See May Hazel Southern, *Our Storied Landmarks, Shasta County, California* [San Francisco: privately printed, 1942], p. 32.)

1850 – On February 10, 1850, the firm of Hensley, Reading & Co,, which had conducted a trading post at Sutterville since the fall of 1848, was dissolved.

On February 18, 1850, the governor signed the bill creating the original twenty-seven counties of California, of which Shasta was one. Reading's Ranch was designated the county seat. (*Cal. Stats.*, 1850, 58-63.)

It was in this year that P. B. Reading went to Washington, D. C., to settle his accounts as paymaster of the California Battalion: his disbursements had exceeded $166,000. On his trip to Washington, he stopped off at Vicksburg to pay in gold the principal and interest (amounting to $60,000) of his long-standing financial obligations. "Pierson B. Reading," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers, op. cit.*, p. 137.)

1851 – On February 10, 1851, the Court of Sessions of Shasta County was organized by Judge Harrison, and the county seat was moved from Reading's Ranch to Shasta City, much to Major Reading's satisfaction. (See Frank and Chappell, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.)

In 1851, P. B. Reading became interested in the navigation of the upper Sacramento. The Sacramento *Union* of January 3, 1852, gives Captain James A. Grant's account of a trip made by the *Camanche*, owned by Major Reading – the longest trip ever made by steamboat from San Francisco to Tehama, a distance of 485 miles. The run down was made in 15 hours. (Mae Helene Bacon Boggs, *My Playhouse Was a Concord Coach* [Oakland: privately printed, 1942], p. 109.) Later he purchased the steamer *McClelland* for $18,000, and a part interest in the *Banner* which had been built by Captain William Pierce and John Bidwell. (Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell*, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1942, pp. 352-53.)

In June 1851, P. B. Reading was nominated on the Whig ticket for governor, but due probably to the fact that the disputed ballots were not counted, Reading was defeated. (*Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers, op. cit.*, p. 138.) He definitely declined the nomination for the governorship when it was again offered to him in 1861, and in 1867.

On August 16, 1851, a treaty of peace and friendship between the United States Indian agent, O. M. Wozencraft, and the Indians was made at Reading's Ranch–this treaty, which set aside about one-third of Shasta County as an Indian reservation, was never ratified by the United States Senate. (Southern, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.)

In the fall of 1851, the first stage route to Shasta was established – the first public road of Shasta County. The route passed Reading's Ranch. (Minutes of the Court of Sessions, Shasta County, p. 9, in Hall of Records, Redding.)

1852 – In June 1852, William Magee completed the survey of Reading's Ranch and was appointed agent to sell or lease tracts of the land. Among the early sales made were the Canyon House, the American Ranch, Joseph Jones Bell's ranch on Clear Creek (Grover Oak's), and the Twin Oaks Ranch.

In 1852 a military post was established on Cow Creek and named Fort Reading in honor of Major Reading. (See Southern, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-63.)

On September 15, 1852, P. B. Reading was appointed by President Fillmore special Indian agent for California, with a cash fund of $25,000 to be spent for the benefit of the Indians.

1853-1854 – Major Reading headed a committee which was appointed to survey the Noble Pass route for a railroad. (See Boggs, *op. cit.*, p. 183.) Previously he had surveyed Sutterville, and the Capay Rancho, and was one of three surveyors that laid out Yuba City.

1854-1855 – A nine-room addition to his adobe home was built, and it became known as "Reading's Mansion." (See *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers, op. cit.*, p. 139.)

1855-1861 – On September 19, 1855, P. B. Reading was appointed special Indian agent of the Cow Creek and Cottonwood Indians and those in the vicinity of Shasta City.

In October 1855, he returned to Washington, D. C., to quiet the title to his grant. This grant was approved by the United States Supreme Court on January 11, 1856.

On this trip Reading carried a letter of introduction to Fannie Wallace Washington, a niece of Richard Lee, whom Reading had met while Lee was stationed at Fort Reading. She became his bride on March 13, 1856. They reached Rancho Buena Ventura, via Havana and Panama, in May.

Mrs. Reading's letters to her relatives in the East tell of the busy days at the rancho, of the malaria, camping trips to the Mount Lassen area, the first harvest in which a header and harvester were used, the entertainment of guests, the celebration of holidays, the floods of '61, and many other interesting items. (Fannie W. Reading to Mrs. A. W. Washington and Mrs. R. B. Lee, originals in the possession of Eleanor Lee Templeman, Arlington, Virginia; copies in files of the Shasta Historical Society, Redding.)

In 1861, Reading was unanimously elected commissioner to represent the Pacific Coast at the World's Fair in London, but he declined the honor.

1861-1863 – The *Rainbow*, rebuilt from the *McClelland*, reached Sacramento in late December 1861, and Latona, or Reading, on January 1, 1862.

In February 1862, Reading entered into a contract with William Magee to lay out the town of Reading near the mouth of Clear Creek. Lots were sold, a ferry franchise granted, and other improvements made. The warehouse, hotel, and other buildings were destroyed by fire in the early part of 1863.

In 1862 Reading was awarded a prize for the best "stock farm" in the state of California.

In the later part of 1862, the "Original Williams and Kellinger Gold, Silver and Copper Mining Company of Copper City" was incorporated, with P. B. Reading and J. J. Bell as principal stockholders. The cost of extracting the metal from the ore being too great, the first boom lasted but a short time.

1864 — Kendall Vanhook Bumpass and P. B. Reading filed a mining claim on what is now known as Bumpass Hell in Lassen Volcanic National Park.

It was in the summer of 1864 that Major Reading, accompanied by Helen Tanner Brodt and her husband, climbed Lassen Peak. Because Mrs. Brodt was the first woman to make the ascent of the mountain, Reading named Lake Helen in her honor. (See Southern, *op. cit.*, p. 89.)

1868 — On May 29, 1868, death claimed the earliest settler of Shasta County at the age of 51 years. He left to mourn his loss his wife and six children, two of whom, Robert and Alice M., became prominent citizens of the county. The late Leslie Simson, the famous African hunter, was his grandson.

1869 — Twelve magnificent deodars (cedars of India) which adorn the state capitol grounds at Sacramento were grown from seeds donated by P. B. Reading and planted seventy-five years ago. (See H. E. & E. G. Rensch and Mildred Brooke Hoover, *Historic Spots in California—Valley and Sierra Counties*, Stanford University, 1933, p. 323.)

1871 — Mrs. P. B. Reading returned to Washington with her children in order to give them better educational advantages.

1874 — A bill was introduced in the state legislature in 1874 by Rudolph Klotz, which changed the spelling of the railroad town Redding, which had been named for B. B. Redding, the first land agent of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, to "Reading," in honor of our first pioneer settler. But since 1880 the town has been called "Redding."

1881 — The *History and Business Directory of Shasta County*, edited by B. F. Frank and H. W. Chappell, and dedicated to Major P. B. Reading, was published in 1881. This is the only history ever written of Shasta County.

1902 — Robert Reading, son of P. B. Reading, was elected surveyor of Shasta County in 1902. He served three terms. His daughter, Eleanor Lee Templeman, who spent her girlhood in Redding, is the only living direct descendant of Major Reading.

1905 — Next to General Bidwell's stone in the Sloat Memorial Monument at Monterey is one in honor of Major Pierson B. Reading, a filial tribute from his son, Robert.

1914 — The Reading homestead was sold to Charles C. Moore in 1914, and this remaining tract of nearly 3,000 acres took the name of the original grant, Buena Ventura Rancho. In 1938, this ranch, which had been reduced to about 1,000 acres, was purchased by V. C. Bryant, of Redding.

1920 — A bronze memorial tablet, made in Baltimore, was erected over Major Reading's grave (a short distance from the old adobe) by his daughter, Alice M. Reading. The Shasta County parlors of Native Daughters of the Golden West plan to improve and fence this plot when materials are available.

1929 — The Ball's Ferry Farm Center built a drinking fountain at the Anderson Fair grounds at a cost of $300.00 and dedicated it to Pierson B. Reading, founder of the oldest settlement north of Sutter's Fort.

1930 – In their *Quarterly* for September 1930, the Society of California Pioneers published P. B. Reading's diary of his trip to California with the Chiles-Walker party. (The original is now in the possession of the Society of California Pioneers.) It had previously been published in the *Grizzly Bear* in May 1928.

1931 – An effort was made by Alice Reading and the late Harry C. Peterson, curator of the Sutter's Fort Historical Museum, to have the State Park Commission repair the historic Reading adobe. Rolla Arbuckle estimated the cost at $3,475.00, which included the installation of a deep-well system and the fencing of about seven acres.

1932 – Several historical markers have been erected in Shasta County commemorating P. B. Reading's activities, viz., at Reading's Bar, the Reading adobe, at Clear Creek, and at Fort Reading. (See Southern, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 31, and 64-65.)

1941-43 – Deeds to the old adobe site from Alice Reading, and to approximately fifteen acres secured by the Shasta Historical Society from the Cottonwood-Anderson irrigation District, were offered to the State Park Commission, but as yet they have not been accepted.

The Shasta Historical Society deeded to the county the "right of way" leading from the Cottonwood-Balls Ferry road to the old adobe.

On October 2, 1943, the Board of Supervisors of Shasta County designated the road leading to the old adobe as the "Reading Adobe Way."

On October 19, the United States Board on Geographical Names officially changed the name of White Mountain to Reading Peak. The spelling of Reading Creek, Trinity County, has also been corrected by the Board on Geographical Names, and the name of Reading Bar has been restored on the new Shasta County map.

A biography of P. B. Reading is being compiled by the Reverend John W. Winkley of Hayward and Eleanor Lee Templeman, of Arlington, Virginia.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

CREEDON, ELMA MAY (comp.)

Grandfather's Diary and Newspaper Clippings. [Cover title:] John Frey City Trustee, His Part in Solving Vallejo's Water Problem. [Priv. prtd., 1943.] 40 pp. incl. port.

DAWSON, GLEN (comp.)

Californiana, a Priced Catalogue of One Thousand Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of California [Parts I-V]. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1943. 112 pp. $1.50.

FISHER, VARDIS

The Mothers. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1943. 334 pp. $2.50. Fictionized account of the Donner party.

FLETCHER, RUSSELL HOLMES (ed.)

Who's Who in California, a Biographical Reference Work of Notable Living Men and Women of California. Vol. I, 1942-1943. Los Angeles: Who's Who Publications Company [1941]. xxxviii + 1026 pp. $25.00.

KEMBLE, JOHN HASKELL

The Panama Route 1848-1869. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943. viii + 316 pp., illus. $3.00.

History of travel and communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with lists and descriptions of steamers that operated on the route, names of passengers, shipments, etc.

MERRILL, GEORGE A.

Jose Francisco de Ortega, the Landsman Who Discovered the Golden Gate Which Navigators Had Failed to Find. [Redwood City, Calif.: Priv. prtd., 1943.] [6] pp.

PADEN, IRENE D.

The Wake of the Prairie Schooner, with pen and ink drawings by the author. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. xix + 514 pp. $3.00.

SMITH, GRANT H.

The History of the Comstock Lode, 1850-1920 [Reno, Nevada]: Nevada State Bureau of Mines and the Mackay School of Mines, 1943. xiii + 297 pp., illus. (University of Nevada *Bulletin*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, July 1, 1943, Geology and Mining Series No. 37.)

U. S. WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

Inventory of the County Archives of California No. 38, San Diego County, Vol. I, Administrative Offices. San Diego: Work Projects Administration of California, 1943. 357 + [3] pp. (mimeo.)

WATERS, WILLARD O.

Franciscan Missions of Upper California as Seen by Foreign Visitors and Residents . . . 1786-1848 [reprinted from *Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg.* New York: The New York Public Library, 1943]. 19 pp.

YUBA MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Yuba World Leader Placer Mining Dredges . . . Articles . . . Relating to Placer Dredging . . . San Francisco: Yuba Manufacturing Company [1943].

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. VII, No. 4 (October 1943) contains: "An Irishman in the Fur Trade: the Life and Journals of John Work," by Henry Drummond Dee.

GHOST TOWN NEWS

Vol. III, No. 14 (December 1943) contains: "The Old Stockton-Los Angeles Stage Road . . .," by John W. Winkley.

LA PENINSULA

Vol. II, No. 3 (October 1943) contains: "San Mateo County and the Civil War," by Roy W. Cloud.

THE PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XII, No. 3 (September 1943) contains: "The Scientist in the West, 1870-1880," by Howard D. Kramer, and "Sectionalism and the California Constitution of 1879," by Dudley T. Moorhead.

QUARTERLY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Vol. XXV, No. 3 (September 1943) contains: "The Lincoln-Roosevelt League," by J. Gregg Layne, and "The Silver Republican Club of Los Angeles," by Harold F. Taggart.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Vol. XXVI, No. 44 (October 30, 1943), *California, a Regional Inventory*, contains: "California—Sources and Resources," by Edwin L. Sabin; "History on File," by Herbert Ingram Priestley; "The Practical Variety," by Mabel R. Gillis, and other articles on California.

WESTWAYS

Vol. XXXV, No. 12 (December 1943), contains: "Old Narrow Gauge is Gone" [Pacific Coast railway from Port San Luis to Los Olivos], by Henrietta Holland.

News of the Society

Meetings

Professor Carl O. Sauer, chairman of the Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, discussed "Plants as Documents of Human History" at the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society held on September 23, 1943, at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco. Sixty-one members and guests were present.

The Society was privileged to learn from Professor Sauer the significance of plants as evidences of human culture through the ages. Known for his geographical explorations and field work in Mexico, South America and our Southwest, Professor Sauer drew several of his examples from centers of pre-Columbian culture in the Americas and showed interesting connections between plants of our continent and of southeastern Asia. The varieties of maize or Indian corn, of cotton, and of tobacco were cited among others.

Professor Sauer indicated how, in California, settlements of pioneers from Missouri, Kentucky and other states often could be identified by the characteristic plants and trees on the farms and in the home-gardens. He deplored the fact that several types of corn, and other distinctive plants and fruits are verging on extinction, due to standardization of seeds and crops, and expressed the hope that some of these rare old varieties can be saved in California and elsewhere.

"General E. O. C. Ord and His Career in California" was the subject of the address of Eric A. Falconer, San Francisco attorney, at the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society, on October 28, at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, with fifty-nine members and guests in attendance. Relatives of the distinguished general were among the guests.

The interesting story of Ord presented by the speaker included references to his service as a young artillery officer in California during the Mexican War, in company with William T. Sherman, at Monterey and elsewhere; and the little-known fact was brought out that Ord was in command of the Presidio of San Francisco during the Vigilante troubles of 1856. The Civil War services of General Ord in the Union army were recounted. The most striking feature of the address was the reading of a letter, written by General Ord in 1864, in which he revealed that, during the Vigilante crisis in San Francisco in 1856, he had planned to place artillery batteries on the city's principal hills, commanding strategic positions below, had United States Army action been necessary, and recommended that similar steps be taken to prevent a seizure of the city's strong points during the Civil War. The return of the General to California in later life was referred to, with many sidelights on the notable man for whom present-day Fort Ord, Monterey County, is named.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Fred D. Jackson, of Santa Barbara, a flag of the 3rd Artillery Regiment, U. S. Army, in which Ord had served as a first lieutenant when he came to California in 1847, was displayed at the meeting.

The California Historical Society was honored by having the president of the Oregon Historical Society, Lewis A. McArthur, address the luncheon meeting on November 18 at the Palace Hotel. Fifty-six members and guests were present. Mr. McArthur is a member of the California society, secretary of the Oregon Geographic Board, and vice-president of the Pacific Power & Light Co., of Portland. He is widely known for his writings on Oregon geographic names and other historical subjects.

"Peter Skene Ogden" was the subject of Mr. McArthur's address, and he brought out the importance of the explorations of this pioneer, who is reputed to have discovered and named Mount Shasta. In the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, Mr. McArthur revealed, are voluminous journals by Ogden, describing his travels, which are much more extensive than those published in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* some years ago, which were selections made by Agnes Laut. Plans are being made for publication of the complete journals.

AUBREY DRURY

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Davey, Thomas P.	San Francisco	Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
Dibblee, Harrison, Jr.	San Francisco	Mr. Joseph W. Huggins
Elkinton, Mrs. Anna L.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. E. A. Mott-Smith
Eloesser, Herbert	San Francisco	Dr. Hans Barkan
Evans, Perry	San Francisco	Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman
Gregory, John R.	San Mateo, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Lippman, Dr. Caro W.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Monterey-Fresno Diocesan Library	Fresno, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Norman, Albert E.	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. A. S. Macdonald
Papini, Miss Celia	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Peattie, Donald Culross	Santa Barbara	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Sawyer, Hon. Robert W.	Bend, Oregon	Mr. Lewis A. McArthur
Sollman, T. Gordon	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Strohn, Mrs. Grace Clark	Los Angeles, Calif.	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Thompson, Brian	Oakland, Calif.	Miss Adele Ogden

Gifts Received by the Society

September 2, 1943, to December 1, 1943

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. NATHANIEL BLAISDELL—The Blaisdell Family Association, *Blaisdell Papers,* Vol. II, No. 5, Summer 1943.

From CALIFORNIA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—Thompson, R. A., *Conquest of California,* Santa Rosa, 1896; *idem, The Russian Settlement in California* . . ., Santa Rosa, 1896.

From MRS. EDMOND D. COBLENTZ—Fletcher, Russell Holmes, ed., *Who's Who in California* . . ., Vol. I, 1942-1943, Los Angeles [1941].

From MRS. PHILIP S. CREEDON—Creedon, Elma May, comp., *John Frey . . . His Part in Solving Vallejo's Water Problem,* priv. prtd. [1943?].

From MISS LUCIE E. N. DOBBIE—Kemble, John Haskell, *The Panama Route 1848-1869,* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943.

From MR. FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR—Farquhar, Francis P., *Jedediah Smith and the First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada,* reprinted from the Sierra Club *Bulletin,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (June 1943).

From MRS. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE—*Authors' Carnival Album,* San Francisco, 1880.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—*The Leland Stanford Junior University Exercises of the Opening Day,* Thursday, October 1, 1891, *The Leland Stanford Jr. Museum, Origin and Description,* n. d.

From MRS. MARY F. MELSON—*Bible,* New York, 1851, presented to Mrs. Sarah Melson at Stockton in 1856, by the Rev. John Simmons.

From MR. GEORGE A. MERRILL—Merrill, George A., comp., *José Francisco de Ortega* . . . [priv. prtd., 1943].

From MRS. FREMONT OLDER—Older, Fremont, *Growing Up,* San Francisco, 1931; *idem, My Own Story,* Oakland, 1925.

From SACRAMENTO BOOK COLLECTORS CLUB—Plumbe, John, *A Faithful Translation of the Papers Respecting the Grant Made by Governor Alvarado to John A. Sutter,* reprinted from the original pamphlet published in 1850, Sacramento, 1942.

From MR. WALTER A. STARR—Keith, J. D., *The Story of Crockett,* 1932 (mimeo.).

From U. S. WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION—*Inventory of the County Archives of California,* No. 38, *San Diego County (San Diego),* Vol. I, *Administrative Offices,* San Diego, 1943 (mimeo.).

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Kemble, John Haskell, *The Panama Route 1848-1869,* University of California Publications in History, Vol. 29, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Dawson, Glen, comp., *Californiana, a Priced Catalogue of One Thousand Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of California,* Los Angeles, 1943; Fell, James, *British Merchant Seamen in San Francisco 1892-1898,* London, 1899; Lattimore, Owen, *America and Asia* . . ., Claremont, 1943; Lockley, Fred, *Vigilante Days at Virginia City, Personal Narrative of Col. Henry E. Dosch* . . ., Portland, Oregon [1924].

From MR. WILLARD O. WATERS—Waters, Willard O., *Franciscan Missions of Upper California as Seen by Foreign Visitors and Residents* . . ., reprinted from *Bookmen's Holiday,* New York, 1943.

From YUBA MANUFACTURING COMPANY – *Yuba World Leader, Placer Mining Dredges, Articles . . . Originally Published in Technical Mining Journals . . .* San Francisco [1943].

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

From GEN. DAVID P. BARROWS–"Biographical Sketch on the Life of M. Martinez, January 1888 to February 1910," typed copy of the diary of M. Martinez.

From CALIFORNIA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY–Letter written by M. G. Vallejo at Sonoma on July 1, 1885, to R. A. Thompson regarding Fourth of July celebration.

From MR. THEODORE J. HOOVER–Hoover, Mildred Brooke, Notes, correspondence, etc., used in compiling *Historic Spots in California.*

From MISS CONSTANCE A. MEEKS–MS list of properties owned by William Newton Meeks in San Francisco and Alameda counties [1876]; Petition for land in the town of Yerba Buena, signed by James G. T. Dunleavey, January 5, 1847, and Deed signed by George Hyde, alcalde, Ch. Meyer, and Pedro T. Scherrebeck; Receipt for land in San Francisco formerly belonging to Gabriel Castro, signed September 4, 1872, by Isabelle de Francolini.

From MR. F. A. MORSE–Parole of honor given Lieut. Edward M. Morse, of the Confederate army, at Meridian, Miss., on May 16, 1865 (framed photostat).

PICTURES

From MR. HAROLD DOUGLAS–Portrait in oils of Joshua Abbott, ca. 1855 (framed).

From MRS. GUY J. GIFFEN–Photographs: "Trinidad Head"; "Donner Lake," from a photograph of 1877; "Site of the Donner party camp," from a photograph of 1890; "The Serra Oak," in Monterey, from a photograph of 1896; Photostat: "The Brig Pilgrim," from the painting by Sidney M. Chase.

From MRS. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE–6 sheets of original pen and ink sketches of scenes in Panama and in California, by C. L. Bugbee, 1863; "Jeff Davis as Madame Vanderpants," cartoon by E. Jump (copy); 5 scenes from Vischer's *Views of California;* 1 scene from the Supplement to Vischer's *Pictorial of California.*

From GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.–Photograph: Governor Newton Booth and his military staff.

From MR. AUGUSTIN S. MACDONALD–Post card: "San Carlos Mission, Carmel, Cal."

From MR. WALTER A. STARR–Photograph: Occidental warehouse of William M. Starr and mill of W. A. Starr adjoining old Pacific Mail dock, San Francisco.

From MRS. WILLIAM A. WOOD–Photographs: Mary E. (Davis) Bucknall, granddaughter of George C. Yount; Elizabeth Ann Yount, daughter of George C. Yount.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. ANSON S. BLAKE–The *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, various issues.

From MR. HAROLD DOUGLAS–The *Eastern Gazette*, February 25 and February 18, 1932, containing the story of the overland trip of Joshua Abbott.

From MRS. LAWTON R. KENNEDY–*California Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-4 (January-October 1942), Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1943).

From MRS. FREMONT OLDER–"Love Stories of Old California," pages from the Oakland *Tribune*, May 18-August 3, 1941.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—"Bell of St. Ignatius," and "Bell of the Vigilance Committee" (2 pages, mimeo.): Cards for Information file.

From CALIFORNIA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—Invitation to the Fourth of July celebration, San Francisco, 1885.

From MR. PETER T. CONMY—"The Centenary of the American Consulate in California, Thomas Oliver Larkin, Consul, 1843-1848," by Peter T. Conmy (mimeo.).

From MR. STUART N. GREENBERG—Program, 90th anniversary of M. Greenberg's Sons.

From MR. DAN GUTLEBEN—Notes on the sugar-beet industry in California (9 typed pages).

From MRS. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE—California Theatre ticket, February 14, 1881; Souvenir card of the California Midwinter International Exposition, July 4, 1894; 2 Blank checks of Hickox & Spear, Bankers, 187--.

From MRS. C. F. LEWIS—"The Streets of San Francisco," clippings from the San Francisco *Chronicle*, 1929.

From MRS. MARY F. MELSON—Valentine sent by Martin B. Clark to his fiancée in Stockton, 1858.

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN—Information on Dr. J. E. Stockton and H. Clay Stockton (5 pages, typed).

From SAN LEANDRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—"Tehama County's First Sawmill," by Leslie J. Freeman (4 pages, typed).

From MR. E. G. SCHMIEDELL—Belt buckle, San Francisco Guard, ca. 1860-65; Buckle used ca. 1881.

From MRS. WILLIS J. WALKER—Menu printed on silk, complimentary dinner given to Thomas Hunt and Captain John P. Gannett at the Irving, San Francisco, December 22, 1852.

In Memoriam

WILLIAM WARREN BELL

1875-1943

William Warren Bell, a member of the California Historical Society, died in Piedmont, California, on August 1, after a brief illness. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1875. At Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1897 and took his Master's degree in 1899, he specialized in history.

In Oakland, California, he married Edna Yates in 1923, and when they came back to California in 1926 to make their home, Mr. Bell began the serious study of California history, which became his great interest. In their mountain cabin on the old trail, in Bear Valley near Emigrant Gap, the Bells collected many relics of the early days and made a study of the history of the surrounding region.

Mr. Bell was a frequent attendant at the Historical Society luncheons and will be particularly missed by the many friends he made there. Besides his widow, he leaves a daughter, Diana, and a brother, Edward Bell of Hingham, Massachusetts.

Charles Page Cutten

1875-1943

Charles P. Cutten, a member of this Society for many years, died in San Francisco on September 15, 1943. He was born on May 8, 1875, at Eureka, California, the son of David Page and Kate McGrath Cutten. After attending the public schools of Eureka he went to Stanford University, graduating with the Class of '99.

Mr. Cutten practiced law in his home town until 1913 when he moved to San Francisco. He served in the State legislature during the years 1907 to 1913, the first two years as assemblyman and the remaining years as state senator. While in the legislature Mr. Cutten made a most enviable record. He was chairman of the Finance and Banking committees and as such was instrumental in formulating statutes which since have served as the basic banking law in California. Because of his notable work in this particular and his reputation as an able lawyer, he was invited to become a member of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company legal staff, and by virtue of his abilities rapidly rose to one of the highest positions in this company. Mr. Cutten retired as counsel for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in 1934 and thereafter devoted himself to his literary and historical interests. His library of first editions and historical items is outstanding.

In 1906 Mr. Cutten was married to Marjorie Barnes, who, together with their daughters, Elizabeth Hughes, Ruth Fay, Kathleen Helms, and Marjorie Walker, survive him.

His maternal grandparents, Hugh and Jane (Gibson) McGrath, were pioneers in the settlement of Eureka. When, in the late spring of 1850, that group of men led by Josiah Gregg, after surviving unimaginable hardships in journeying from Rich Bar on the Trinity River to Humboldt Bay, and thence to Sonoma County, announced the discovery of Humboldt Bay, many ships set out from San Francisco to search for the bay and thus initiate a shorter route to the Trinity River mines than up the Sacramento Valley. On one of these ships, the schooner *General Morgan*, under the command of John Brannan, was Hugh McGrath. While the discovery of Humboldt Bay for settlement purposes is generally attributed to the Laura Virginia Association, this is questioned by the pioneers who arrived on the *General Morgan*. It appears that in April 1850 this ship entered the Eel River and from there sent a land expedition forward over Table Bluff to Humboldt Bay and actually arrived on the bay before the *Laura Virginia* sailed in through the entrance. Hugh McGrath was one of this overland party and a founder of Eureka, helping to build it into the most important commercial port in California north of San Francisco. As an associate of Sam Brannan, Mr. McGrath brought fabricated houses around the Horn. It is interesting to note that one of these buildings still stands at the foot of I Street in Eureka, a testimonial of the enduring quality of pioneer construction.

We have suffered a great loss by Mr. Cutten's death. He was a connecting link with the pioneer days, but unfortunately much of the great fund of early historical knowledge which he accumulated has not been recorded for future generations. Mr. Cutten did, however, write several articles, among which was the story of the Josiah Gregg party and their discovery of Humboldt Bay, published in the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* in March 1932.

Mr. Cutten was a loyal and understanding friend who brought kindliness to all whom his life touched.

CLARENCE COONAN

FREDERIC W. HOWAY

1867-1943

One of our most distinguished members, Judge Frederic William Howay, passed away at New Westminster on October 4, after a short illness. Judge Howay was born on November 25, 1867, at London, Ontario, and while a child of three was taken to New Westminster, British Columbia. After attending the home schools he entered Dalhousie University, where he received the bachelor degree in law. He practiced law in New Westminster until in 1907 he was appointed judge of the county court in New Westminster. From the bench he dispensed justice with an impartial hand until he retired in 1937. It is not, however, as a jurist but as an historian that he will live as an outstanding figure. Very early he became interested in the province of British Columbia and, besides collaborating with E. O. S. Scholefield in writing a history of the province in 1914, he became especially engaged in the erection of cairns commemorating historic places in the Northwest and for the last few years served as chairman of the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Only a year or so ago he was elected president of the Royal Society of Canada and early this year president of the Champlain Society.

Judge Howay worked for years on the history of the Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest and began publishing the results of his researches in 1930 in a *List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade from 1785 to 1825* issued in five installments by the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada. With this work he made the history of this movement his own. Judge Howay was a member of numerous historical societies, including our own. He was elected one of our members in 1934, and twice delivered addresses before us, one on January 25, 1935, and the other on October 27, 1942. He also contributed an article to the June, 1932, number of our *Quarterly* on a part of the journal of Cyrus Olin Phillips. A list of his writings, which he recently compiled himself, will shortly be published, so it is not necessary to recite here the titles of his numerous works. His latest work of importance was editing *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast*, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1941, which contains the journals of Robert Haswell, John Hoskins, and John Boit. This will forever stand as a monument to his painstaking research and masterly assemblage of editorial comment.

Perhaps Judge Howay's kindliness and sense of humor were his outstanding personal qualities. Everyone who knew him well loved him and looked up to him as a great scholar. His wife and daughter predeceased him and his brother died last spring. He leaves several nieces and nephews, two sisters and one brother. His library he bequeathed to the University of British Columbia.

H. R. WAGNER

KATHARINE CRITTENDEN SHARPSTEEN

1888-1943

Katharine C. Sharpsteen, who died at San Luis Obispo, California, on October 11, 1943, had been a member of this Society since September 1922. She was born at Tacoma, in what was then Washington Territory, on March 18, 1888. Educated in the public schools of Tacoma, and later those of Alameda, California, she was graduated from the University of California in 1910. After a year of postgraduate work she began teaching in the Department of English, first in the High School at Lakeport, and thereafter in the High Schools of Calistoga, Ripon, and finally San Luis Obispo, from which she retired in 1942 after a service of twenty-three years in that school.

Although a native of Washington, she became devoted to California and was as familiar with its history as any native. She visited all of the California Missions and possessed an intimate knowledge of their founding and history. She was the author of two operettas which were produced in many high schools throughout the United States. One of these, *El Toroso*, depicted early California life, and the other, *Lotta*, had a pioneer setting.

She was the daughter of William Crittenden Sharpsteen and Nellie Standish Sharpsteen, deceased, who before her marrnage was a teacher in the public schools of San Francisco, and was the granddaughter of the late Justice John R. Sharpstein of the Supreme Court of California.

MAY HAZEL SOUTHERN

1867-1943

May Hazel Southern was a daughter of pioneer parents: her father, Simeon Fisher Southern, made the hazardous trip across the plains to Shasta City in 1855, and her mother, the long voyage around the Horn in the steamer

Cortez. Both were from Kentucky. They were married in Shasta, where Southern operated the Eagle Hotel. He also operated the Empire Hotel at French Gulch, but opened a hostelry in the Sacramento River Canyon, forty-five miles north of Redding, when the new road was built. The place was called Hazel Creek by the post-office department, and later Sims by the railroad, but to the early settlers it was always known as Southern's. This became one of the important stage stops on the road to Oregon. Many prominent men of the time were entertained there, and there May Southern was born on May 1, 1867.

Her first schooldays were spent in a private school financed by her father; later she attended a convent in Yreka. She was employed by the Southern Pacific Company as a station agent and telegraph operator, from 1889, when she learned the work at Sims Station, until she retired in 1918.

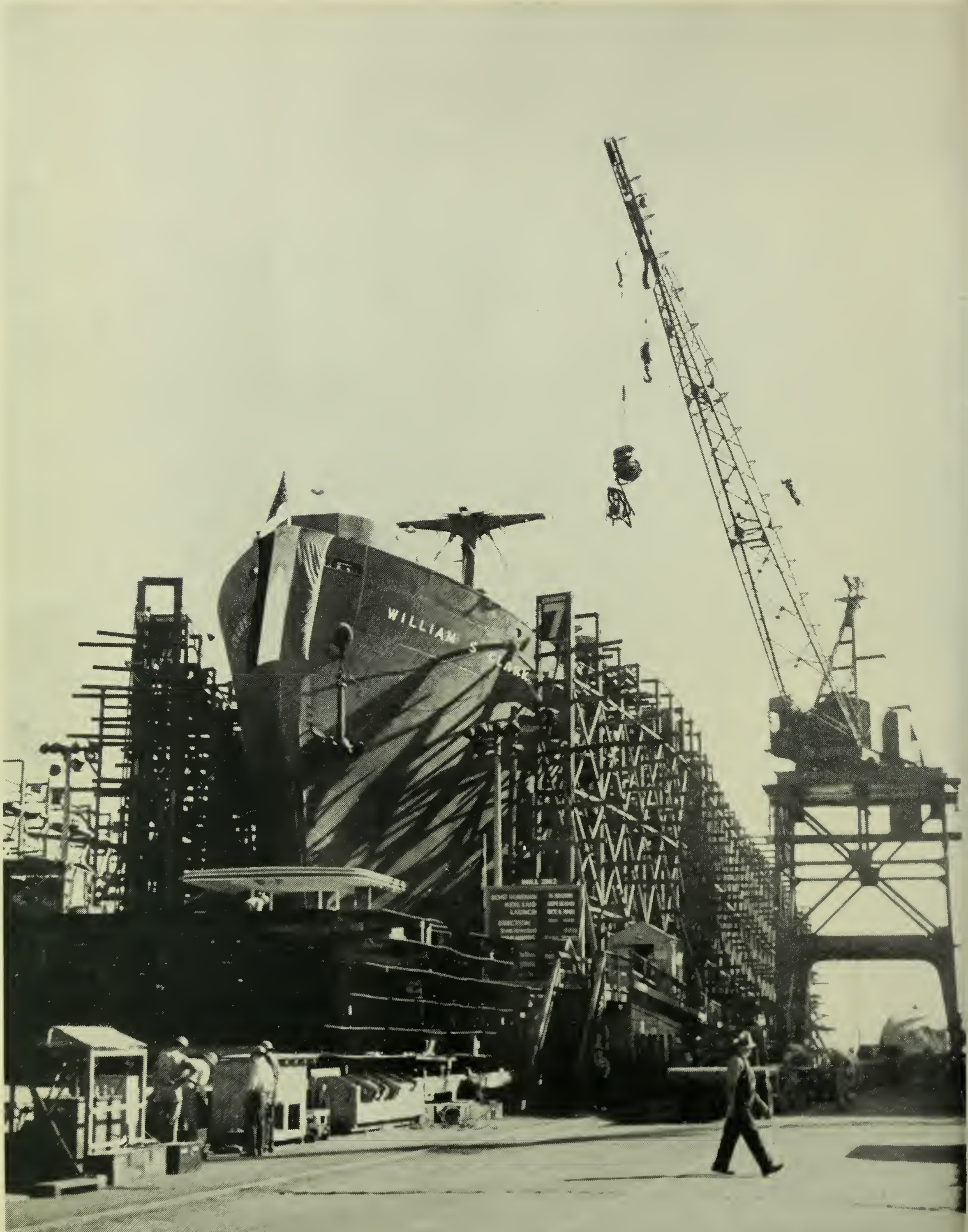
With Alice M. Reading, daughter of Pierson Barton Reading, Miss Southern assisted in organizing the Shasta Historical Society, in 1930. She was unanimously elected president, and for ten years the society grew and prospered under her leadership. With keenest interest and untiring zeal she labored at the task of historical research. To perpetuate the data thus obtained was her next objective. The future generations of Shasta County owe her an enormous debt for her work along these lines. Due to her efforts and leadership many hitherto unidentified historical spots are now recognizable along the highways or made easily accessible to those seeking knowledge of the past. She was also the author of a small volume, *Our Storied Landmarks, Shasta County, California,* which she had privately printed in 1942, and of a number of manuscripts which, on account of failing health she was unable to complete for publication.

May Southern possessed a strong and interesting personality. She was beloved by her many friends, a devout Christian affiliated with the Redding Presbyterian Church, a member of the Order of Eastern Star, of the Redding Chamber of Commerce and the State Chamber of Commerce (of which she was chairman of the Committee on History and Landmarks for Shasta County), the California Historical Society, Native Daughters of the Golden West, and was an honorary life member of the Shasta-Cascade Wonderland Association and of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, as well as honorary life president of Shasta Historical Society.

Miss Southern died at St. Catherine's Hospital, Redding, on September 22. Her passing leaves us to mourn for an indefatigable worker, an accurate historian, a witty companion, and loyal friend.

Rosena A. Giles

As we go to press, we are grieved to learn of the death, on June 22, 1943, of Dr. George Curtis Martin, of Washington, D. C., who had been a member of the Society only since last February.


WILLIAM S. CLARK
7

S.S. *WILLIAM S. CLARK*

Launched at Richmond, California, on October 5, 1943

Illustration courtesy of Mrs. Jerome A. Hart

Marginalia

Launched at the Permanente Metals Corporation Shipyard No. 2, at Richmond, California, on October 5, was the S.S. *William S. Clark,* named for the San Francisco pioneer of 1846, William Squire Clark. His granddaughter, Miss Martha Ann Chapple, of Los Angeles, acted as sponsor, and Mrs. Jerome A. Hart and Mrs. Grace Clark Strohn, daughters of Clark and members of our Society, and the Reverend Ezra Allen Van Nuys also took part in the ceremonies.

On October 9, at Richmond, three of our members participated in the launching of the *Robert Louis Stevenson*: Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz was sponsor, Mrs. Lawrence W. Harris, matron of honor, and Mr. Edmond D. Coblentz made a brief address.

Roger D. Lapham, a member of our Society, was elected mayor of San Francisco at the recent election.

Aubrey Drury, secretary of our Society, has been elected a director of the National Audubon Society, succeeding Lieutenant James Moffitt (son of Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt and nephew of James K. Moffitt) who was lost in action.

Several of our members are, of course, in the service. To mention a few: Lt. Col. Truman M. Martin and Lt. (j.g.) Robert P. Hastings are in Washington, D.C. Dr. (Major) Albert Shumate is at Rush Springs, Oklahoma. Dr. J. Roy Jones is a major in the Marine Corps, 51st Evacuation Hospital, address c/o P/M Los Angeles. Capt. I. W. Hellman, of the Army Air Corps, has been elected president of Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company, to succeed the late Robert B. Motherwell II. Sherman Chickering, a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve, is in the Southwest Pacific, and his brother William H., as correspondent for *Time,* has been in the thick of the fighting in the Gilbert and Treasury islands, Bougainville, etc. Both are sons of our treasurer, Allen L. Chickering.

Gilbert Chinard, B.L., LL.D., author of "When the French Came to California," has been Pyne professor of French Literature at Princeton University since 1937. He was born and educated in France, and since 1908, when he was instructor in French at the College of the City of New York, he has served on the faculties of Brown University, University of Chicago, University of California (1912-19), Columbia University, and Johns Hopkins University. He is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur and member of numerous learned societies. In 1918 he was president of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast. He is the author of many books and articles in French and in English. Among those of particular interest to Californians are *Le Voyage de Lapérouse sur les cotes de l'Alaska et de la Californie* (Baltimore, 1937) and *Projet d'association agricole pour la Californie, 1851* (Washington, 1939).

Heading our list of new members is Thomas P. Davey, a San Francisco jeweler, who was born in Grass Valley.

Harrison Dibblee, Jr., is the grandson of Albert Dibblee who came around the Horn from New York, on the ship *Martha,* in 1850, arriving in San Francisco on June 8. Albert Dibblee was president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 1859-61, and later served in other capacities. With his brother Thomas and Col. W. W. Hollister, he owned large ranches near Santa Barbara.

Mrs. Anna L. Elkinton was born in Monrovia, California, but for ten years prior to their evacuation to Berkeley last June, she and her husband lived in Honolulu.

Herbert Eloesser is a brother of Dr. Leo Eloesser and head of the overall manufacturing firm of Eloesser-Heynemann Co. Both of his grandfathers were in business in San Francisco in the early 1860's.

Perry Evans, an attorney and a professor of law in the University of California (Hastings College), is the son of Oliver P. Evans who came to San Francisco from Virginia in 1868 and was for a period a judge of the Superior Court here. Mr. Evans' maternal grandfather, James T. Ryan, arrived in California in January 1850. He erected the first lumber mill on Humboldt Bay and laid out the city of Eureka and gave it its name.

Albert E. Norman is vice president and historian of the Oakland Alameda County Pioneer Society. His great great-grandmother, who came to California in 1861, and succeeding generations have lived in Oakland since 1872, and he himself has been in the real estate business there since 1912. His hobby is collecting old pictures of that city.

Miss Cecilia Papini is the granddaughter of William H. Hooper, who came to California in 1850 from Cincinnati, Ohio. With his uncle and brother-in-law he built the second house and the first store in Centerville, El Dorado County. After mining from 1851-69 he purchased the Tunnel Hill vineyard. Mrs. Hooper was a daughter of Luther Davis who had come from Boston to California in 1849 and had a bakery and confectionery in Coloma.

Donald Culross Peattie,* well-known author and naturalist, was born in Chicago, graduated from Harvard College in 1922, and since 1937 has been a resident of California. Of his many books, those which describe bits of the California scene are: *Flowering Earth* (for which he was awarded the silver medal of the Commonwealth Club of California in 1940), *The Road of a Naturalist*, and *Journey into America.*

Judge Robert W. Sawyer* is editor of the Bend (Oregon) *Bulletin* and a director of the Oregon Historical Society. The article, "Abbot Railroad Surveys, 1855," which he edited for the March and June 1932 issues of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* has a California connotation and interest.

Mrs. Grace Clark Strohn is a granddaughter of William Squire Clark, San Francisco pioneer whose name is perpetuated in Clark's Point and by the ship mentioned in our first paragraph.

Our Librarian is rejoicing in the acquisition of three large second-hand bookcases, made possible through donations from: Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Clarence Coonan, Mrs. John O. Gantner, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., Mr. Lowell E. Hardy, Miss Dorothy H. Huggins, Miss Elizabeth W. and Mr. William C. Latham, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Hon. Thomas J. Prendergast, Milton H. Shutes, M.D., and Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

The deficit which annually threatens the Society's treasury has again been forestalled. In response to an appeal from Sidney M. Ehrman, chairman of our Finance Committee, generous checks were sent in by the following members: Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Charles R. Blyth, Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. W. W. Crocker, Mrs. Georges de Latour, Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman, Mr. Walter A. Haas, Mrs. E. S. Heller, Mr. Edgar M. Kahn, Mr. Arthur D. King, Mr. Daniel E. Koshland, Dr. George D. Lyman, Mrs. C. O. G. Miller, Mrs. Silas H. Palmer, Mrs. George A. Pope, Mrs. Henry Potter Russell, and Mrs. Daniel Volkmann. Mr. Ehrman, himself, had already made a monetary contribution this year, as had also Mrs. Albert B. McKee, Mr. James K. Moffitt, Mr. Ronald T. Rolph and Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins.

The Society's income is never sufficient to take care of all of its expenses, even though drastic economy is practiced. If any of our members wish to change their status from active membership to sustaining or patron membership ($25 and $100, respectively), the increased income would be most welcome.

May we also suggest (if we may be so bold) that the name of the California Historical Society be kept in mind as a possible beneficiary in connection with Victory bonds and wills.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*